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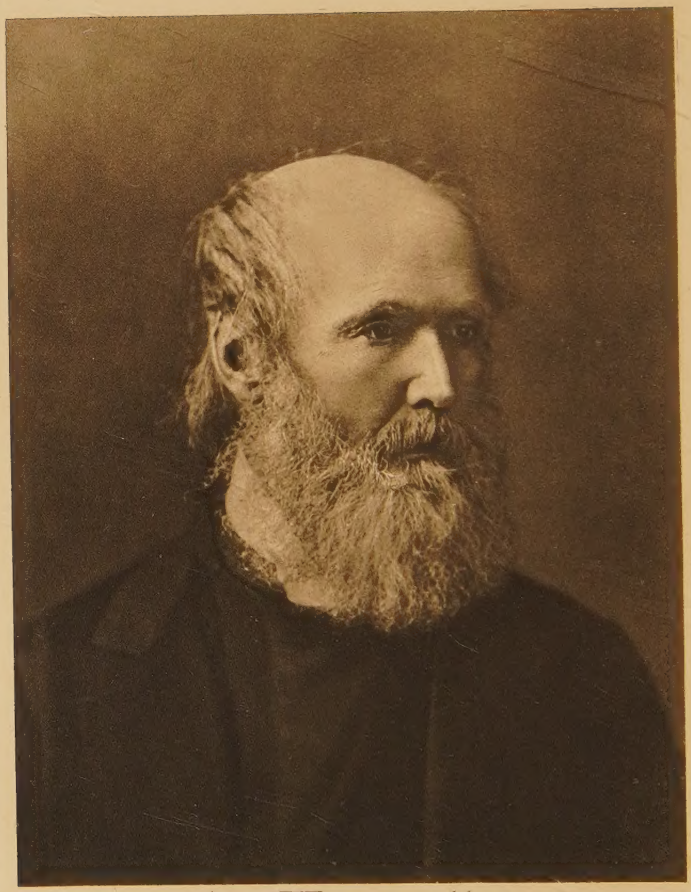
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NEWMAN'S LIVES OF THE ENGLISH SAINTS

VOL. VI.

MANSUETI HÆREDITABUNT TERRAM
ET DELECTABUNTUR
IN MULTITUDINE PACIS



Rev. Thomas Mozley.
Fellow of Oriel.
B. A. 1828: M. A. 1831.

THE LIVES OF THE ENGLISH SAINTS

WRITTEN BY VARIOUS HANDS AT THE SUGGESTION OF

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

AFTERWARDS CARDINAL

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOLUME SIX

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

ARTHUR WOLLASTON HUTTON

1901 LONDON S.T. FREEMANTLE PICCADILLY

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LIFE OF

ST. EDMUND

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

PREFACE

THE sources for the life of St. Edmund, though not copious, are of peculiar value and authority, having been written by persons intimately acquainted with him, and that within six years after his death.

i. B. A Life written by Bertrand, one of the archbishop's attendant clerks, and faithfully attached to him. He was spoken of by Archbishop Albert as "discipulus quem diligebat pater Edmundus, et secretorum ejus conscius." After the archbishop's death, he entered the Cistercian order at Pontigny, of which he became prior in 1249. The most complete copy of this Life is that printed, from a copy taken of the original once at Pontigny, in Martène and Durand, Thesaurus Anecdotorum, vol. iii. Besides the writer's own means of information, it contains all the particulars furnished by the testimonials which were sent in during the inquiry preceding the canonisation. The writer speaks of himself as relating "the things which he had heard and seen." This Life with considerable variation of language, and with some slight additional facts, is found in three Cotton MSS: Cleop. B. i., Faust. B. i., Jul. D. vi., in a Lambeth MS. (No. 135), in Surius (Nov. 16), in Vincent of Beauvais (Speculum Histor.), in John of Tinmouth (MS. in Lambeth Library), and in a Bodleian MS. (Fell 3).

ii. Jul. D. vi. (2). This Cotton MS. contains another, and distinct Life, which, though containing particulars borrowed from the former, furnishes many that are new and peculiar to itself.

iii. Chron. Lanercost. A short account inserted in this Chronicle, and evidently written by an eye-witness, gives a few particulars not elsewhere found.

iv. Alb. Hist. Can. Albert, Archbishop of Armagh, and afterwards Archbishop of Livonia and Prussia, wrote, at the request of the monks of Pontigny, a complete history of the Canonisation and Translation of the Saint. Printed in Martène and Durand.

v. In the same place may be found (no doubt copied from the Pontigny volume) the testimonies which were sent in to the Holy See in order to the canonisation, the bulls of Innocent IV., etc. More testimonies are given in the Appendix to Hearne's edition of Fordun, and others are in MS. in C.C.C. Library, Oxford.

vi. The miracles, from the Catalogue kept at Pontigny, are also in Martène and Durand. They omit the particulars of all but those that were proved at the canonisation. The Fell MS., however, supplies this defect, though the later leaves are wanting.

Dr. Gascoygne, in his "Dictionarium Theologicum," (MS. in Lincoln Coll. Library, pt. 2. p. 94), speaks of a Life written by Albert, archbishop of Livonia. His words are, "Hoc magister Albertus Livoniæ et Prusciæ Archiepiscopus et apostolicæ sedis legatus, in vita quam scripsit de S. Edmundo archiepiscopo quondam Cantuariensi. Qui S. Edmundus fuit

magister artium Oxoniæ, et doctor sacræ theologiæ Parisiis, ut patet in libro vitae ipsius S. Edmundi." It might be supposed that he meant the history of the canonisation by this Albertus, but that the words he quotes do not occur in that. Nothing else is known of this Life, nor of that which Leland and others attribute to Robert Rich, the brother of St. Edmund. There does not seem any foundation for the assertion of A. Butler that this Robert is the author of the Life Jul. D. vi (2).

LIFE OF
ST. EDMUND

CHAPTER I

EDMUND IN THE SCHOOLS

THE little town of Abingdon, in Berkshire, was chiefly remarkable in former times for one of the largest and most substantial Benedictine Abbeys in the kingdom, and for the remains of a Saxon palace which had been the occasional residence of the Kings of Wessex or Mercia. It is situated in a rich and level plain at the junction of the Ock with the Thames, and in those days was just on the skirts of an extensive forest of native oak, which had covered, ever since the days of the Romans, the six miles of hilly ground which separated it from Oxford. Thus the two great Abbeys of Abingdon and Osney stood like two beacon towers at either extremity of the gloomy, tangled, and in parts swampy forest, of which the traveller who now ascends the valley of the Thames to Oxford yet perceives a scanty relic, under the name of Bagley Wood.

In this town, towards the close of the twelfth century, was born the last of the great English Saints, Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury 1234-1240. He was not indeed the last who in England has lived a saintly life, nor even the last who has been inscribed in the canon of the blessed; but he was the last the fame of whose holiness filled Christendom, or even extended at all beyond the limits of his native country. Oh that it might please God to restore, in this our day and generation, the race which has so long failed among us!

He is known among writers of hagiology as Edmund of Pontigny, but the surname of his family was Rich; the epithet, "The Rich," having become applicable to his ancestors as a distinction among their fellow-townsmen. He, however, signed himself always Edmund of Abingdon,[1] and is accordingly so called by the historians, following the ordinary custom of ecclesiastics of denoting themselves from the place of their birth. His whole family was one devout beyond the ordinary measure, and dedicated to God's service. His father, Edward,[2] some time before his death, with the consent of his wife, taking his leave of the world, retired to the neighbouring Abbey of Ensham.[3] This holy practice was quite common in those days. Not only disappointment or failure in the world, sickness, or other special warning coming home to the soul, drew men to the religious life, but after a certain

[1] See a charter in Dugdale, M. A. vol. i. 960; and also Dodsworth's Hist. of Salisbury, p. 117.

[2] According to others, Reynald.

[3] Evesham, ap. M. and D.

age, after having toiled in their vocation, and having discharged the duties of active life, after the burden and heat of the day, they longed for repose, for time to prepare and dress the soul for her last journey. Instead of getting enamoured of life, and clinging more closely to it as it ebbs, trembling before the gradual inroads upon its vigour, the heavenly soul longingly anticipates the period of decline as one of peace, when temptation will be weaker. Like Isaac, it retires in the evening to meditate in the field. Thus, the monasteries were not only seminaries of Christian virtue for the young and enthusiastic who burned to devote their whole lives to God, but a refuge and shelter for the aged, who had learned from experience the vanity of life,—a state of recollection intermediate between this world and the next.

Of Edmund's three brothers, one followed his father into the monastery of Ensham; another, Nicholas, entered that of Boxley, in Kent;[1] and the third, Robert, was the constant companion of the Saint. Two sisters, as we shall see, afterwards became nuns. But the mother, to whom God vouchsafed this holy progeny, was herself a Saint, and worthy to be the mother of a Saint. Though, for the sake of her children, Mabel continued to live in the world, her life was one of religious austerity, serving God with fastings and prayers night and day. She attended almost always at the midnight hours in the neighbouring abbey. Above all, bearing in mind what Scripture says, that "She which liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth," she had

[1] Cotton MS. Jul. D. vi. (2).

imposed upon herself the perpetual wearing of sackcloth next her skin. And to ensure that its rough surface should be always in contact with her body, she laced over it a belt, or stays of iron, which kept it tight around her: using thus material weapons in this her spiritual combat, in which she was at once victor and vanquished. How many thousands of women put their bodies to as great torment for the sake of a slim waist or an elegant appearance during a few years of their youth! This is no fable, for to those of Mabel's own age, more familiar than we with such mortifications, it appeared wonderful. And in memory thereof, the instrument itself, taken from her body at death, was carefully preserved, and gilt over, and so handed down for three hundred years in the family of a citizen of Oxford, by name Dagvyle. He left his property to Lincoln College in that University, and this relic was specially bequeathed to the Church of All Saints, under the name of "The Long Pendant Gyrdle," to be attached to a statue of St. Edmund in that church, so late as the reign of Henry the Seventh. And in such reverence was Mabel's memory held, that they esteemed themselves fortunate who could procure a portion of her clothes; and the chapel adjoining the abbey in which she was buried, though in fact dedicated to the Holy Cross, always went by the name of the Chapel of St. Edmund's mother.[1]

A phenomenon attending his birth was remembered and looked on as an omen of the future purity of the Saint. The new-born infant came forth from the womb without stain or spot, those

[1] A. Wood, Hist. and Antiq. ii. 9, from the City Records.

outward emblems of the inward defilement of original sin with which all the children of Adam are brought into the world. The child lay from the morning till the evening of the day on which its birth took place without motion or sign of life. The midwives thought it dead, and would have had it buried, but the mother resisted this. At her entreaty the babe was baptised, and life and respiration insensibly appeared.

Many illustrious men have told us that their eminence was due entirely to the fostering hand of a mother. There is perhaps no contact between minds so close, no power of moulding so great, as that possessed by a mother over the infant years of her son. A mighty influence for good or for evil. How is this most precious of the privileges of maternity abused when it is used to kindle ambition, and to point the energies of the boy to success in life as his end! And if the man who, after years of toil, has climbed the steeps of fame or power, can look back with gratitude and fondness to her who gave the first impulse, who encouraged his childish aspirations to become "a great man," setting before his eager imagination, in all their glowing colours, the examples of the world's heroes, what tenderness and love may we not suppose the matured Saint to feel towards a mother who, instead of thus employing her power in aid of the world, the flesh, and the devil—too powerful tempters of themselves—cherished in him only the spirit of self-denial and self-conquest, who first set before him the humility of his Saviour, the austerity of the Saints, the constancy of martyrs!

Thus she inured him betimes to abstinence. What increases the difficulty and danger to the constitution of the discipline of fasting, is to have been used in youth to a full and rich diet. On the other hand, those who begin the practice early have no such additional obstacle to encounter, and will without effort sustain an abstinence that costs another much. This may partly help us to understand the accounts we read quite commonly of the wonderful fasts of religious men of old. The good Mabel accordingly taught him, as soon as ever he was capable of understanding the meaning of the act, to fast every Friday on bread and water. She did this not severely by compulsion, but gently, giving him little toys to induce him to do it of his own accord.

It has often happened to pious mothers that their care and anxiety has been after all, or seemed to be, in vain, and the world has come in and carried off the child they had devoted to God. In such case they have, notwithstanding, their reward. But it was not so with the young Edmund. In him was fulfilled the promise: "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." His mother declared before her death that she had never had cause to reprove anything that he did. As he grew up to years of discretion, he followed by free choice the way in which he had been led as a child. His study was only how to make sacrifices well-pleasing to God. He shunned the sports and amusements competent to his years, and frequented rather the churches. He would dedicate to God not a part only of his life, but the whole of it, its best part, the bud and promise of

his youth. How hard does not this seem to most, even of the innocent and well-disposed young. There are those who have gained the mastery over passion, and who have not sold themselves as slaves to that hard taskmaster, ambition, in whom generous enthusiasm still lives unclouded by vice, and uneradicated by selfish aims. Yet even these—and there are not many such—though they are of the very highest order of the natural man, are very far from that spirit of entire surrender which, with the whole strength of the youthful will, dedicates every thought, word, and action, every future moment of its existence, to God. They have escaped shipwreck at the very outset of their course from the more obvious perils of sin; but life is so fresh and joyous; liberty of action and motion is so dear; the cup of youth, though pure, is so bright and sparkling, nay, the more delicious because it is felt to be innocent, that we are tempted to think it a thankless rejection of God's best gifts to throw all this away, and bury ourselves in the gloomy walls of a monastery, or tie ourselves down to a cheerless and monotonous life of prayer and devotion. Such a life is at once felt to be congenial to those that are broken by sickness, or bowed by sorrow, disappointment, or loss of friends. But it seems a contradiction of nature when health, youth, and vigour, waste themselves upon it. Some Saints have felt this struggle within them, and have gained the victory. It is a temptation which only the virtuous and high-minded can experience. But there are others who seem raised even above this, who with the same ardour and impulse, with all the energy of young life, burn to devote to an ascetic

career all these faculties with the same enthusiasm that others do to essay them in the open world. It is hard for us even to conceive the exalted virtue of such souls, who thus anticipate the usual result of a long and painful noviciate. They seem as though they could dispense with the cloister, and are at once what the rule only aims at producing.

It was thus with young Edmund. His only solicitude was that no precious time should be lost, but that every thought and act might tend towards his one end, that of glorifying God in all his powers. When about twelve years old, his mother sent him and his brother to the schools in Oxford. And here his chief desire was to preserve his body in purity, spotless, and inviolate. He sought spiritual counsel in this matter from a certain Priest, famed for his wisdom and discretion, to whom his mother had given him in charge. Under his guidance he resolved to make a private vow of perpetual continence before God, and the ever Virgin Mother. Entering a church, accordingly, he knelt before an image of Our Lady, and earnestly prayed for succour and strength to keep his vow. Following the suggestion of boyish fancy, he ratified his vow by a little ceremony. Having two rings made with the words of the Angel, Ave Maria, etc., upon them, one of which placing on the finger of the Image, the other on his own, he thus espoused himself to the Blessed Virgin. This youthful action he kept from the knowledge of all; though within himself he never ceased to keep up the remembrance of it. But near the end of his life, when he had ceased to

fear the demon that lurketh in the noon-day, he related it to his friends, and requested that it might be written down for the benefit of others. In attestation of it the very ring with the inscription was noted on his finger at his burial; and the image was pointed out as an object of curiosity in the University.[1] His biographers mention instances in which his resolution was put to trial; when the grace of God, and the aid of the Blessed Virgin, saved him; and it was confidently attested by those who knew him all his life, and by all his confessors, that he preserved purity of body inviolate till the day of his death.

His progress in study seemed, at one time, likely to be put a stop to by a severe pain in the head, which never left him. His mother, who no doubt remembered how marvellously he had seemed to come to life only on his baptism, suggested that he should now submit to the clerical tonsure. He followed this advice, and suffered himself to be shorn as a clerk. The pain immediately left him, as though it had been extracted from his head by a forceps, as he afterwards expressed it to a friend, and never afterwards returned.

Anxious to give her sons the best education that was to be had, Mabel sent Edmund and his brother Robert, while yet young, to Paris. At Oxford they had been close to their home, and she must have had the consolation of seeing them often, but now she was sending them out from home, to part from them perhaps for ever, for a student then did not

[1] Gloriosæ Virginis imaginem quam sæpe et una cum tota Universitate vidimus. Chron. Lanercost.

go backwards and forwards between the university and his own home, but took up his abode altogether in the former for the whole period during which he was to attend the disputations and lectures. She gave them but a scanty purse,[1] commending them to God, "to whom she trusted to provide, and that bountifully for them." This alluded to the way in which scholars were supported. Coming from the poorer classes, their own families could do little for them, but they received alms, and it was considered a special charity to contribute to the maintenance of the poor scholar. This was the origin of fellowships and exhibitions, which were but more permanent charitable benefactions of the same kind, and were only intended, by those who founded them, for such as could not support themselves during their period of study, which might last from ten to fifteen years. It was only gradually that the practice was introduced of holding them for an unlimited time.[2] Thus, it makes a part of the scholar's portrait in Chaucer, that he was supported by alms:—

> But all be that he was a philosophre
> Yet hadde he but litel gold in cofre,
> But all that he might of his frendes hente
> On bokes and on lerning he it spente,
> And besily gan for the soules praie
> Of them that gave him wherewith to scolaie.[3]

Much more anxious than to provide even for

[1] Quandam pecuniæ summam modico duraturam tempore, B.

[2] Hüber on Univ. i. 177.

[3] And so late as in Luther's time, in Germany poor scholars went from door to door crying "panem propter Deum."—Luther's Letters.

their necessary bodily wants, was she to guard their souls against the dangers to which they would be more especially exposed in Paris.[1] She gave them each a sackcloth shirt, enjoining them to wear it next their skin twice or thrice in the week; this practice would be at once a penance for past sin, a discipline of virtue and fortification against temptation, and a memento that could not be got rid of, that the joys of life and the indulgence of the flesh were not for them; and such was her persuasion, from her own experience, of the benefits of the practice, that in sending her saintly son, from time to time, fresh supplies of linen, she never omitted to include a hair shirt among them.[2]

While yet at Paris, he was summoned home to witness the holy death of his mother, and to receive a last charge at her hands. She had given him her blessing with the utmost tenderness,[3] when he reminded her of his brothers who were absent. "Have I not blessed you, my son?" she asked; "in that blessing be assured that all your brothers are partakers." For she had a sure presentiment of the eminence of sanctity to which this son would hereafter attain. This was grounded not only on observation of his pure and gentle behaviour, but on a dream, in which she had seen him with a crown of thorns on his head, from which bright flowers shot up into the sky. So she had ever

[1] Vid. Stephen Langton, p. 244.

[2] The old writers of chivalrous romance are fond of this trait of the great Sir Percival, that he would never abandon the good hempen shirt his mother made for him. Mores Cath. i. 28.

[3] Affectuosissime edita.

distinguished him by her love above the rest of her children, and she now gave them her blessing through him, and committed to him especially his two sisters, Margaret and Alice, whom she desired, as soon as opportunity might offer, that he would enter in some monastery.

There was a practice common at the time, for convents to receive money with the novices when they entered. It was a bad practice, and had been over and over again prohibited by the Councils. But yet it seemed so fair that everyone should contribute something to the support of the house in which they were to be maintained, that it continued, though disapproved. In compliance with this practice, Mabel had apportioned a sum to go with her daughters. But Edmund would by no means consent to this. Under whatever guise,—as, for example, when it was said to be taken to provide the dress of the new-comer,[1]—he considered it simoniacal. The legal and canonical definitions of simony might be evaded, it is true, but the thing remained the same. But none of the abbeys to which he applied would admit on these terms. It was so easy to mistake his motive. It might be penuriousness, and his family was known not to be poor. Or, if they did not suspect him of avarice, they might think it a very unnecessary scruple on his part. It was a fancy peculiar to himself. The canons were equally known to others, who did not, however, press them thus literally, or think that they forbade a free gift being offered to the house

[1] Prætextu vestimentorum ultra justum pretium. Constit. Steph. Langton, c. 35.

by the novice. There was the common practice of the time on one hand, and the private opinion (it seemed nothing more) of a young clerk of the university on the other. So all the abbesses refused him. But Edmund would not yield or give up his search in despair. And he succeeded unexpectedly. As he entered the Benedictine nunnery of Catesby, between Banbury and Daventry, in Northamptonshire, before he had uttered a word respecting his business, the Prioress saluted him by name, and, saying she knew the purpose for which he was come, prayed that he would, without delay, send his sisters to her. This Prioress shared the spirit of St. Theresa, who writes to Father Dominic Bagnez, "Be assured, father, that it is an occasion of the greatest joy to me, whenever I receive sisters who bring nothing with them to the convent, whom I receive for the love of God; I wish I might receive them all in this manner." Thus this seemed the asylum provided for them by God's providence; a humble house, but that was what St. Edmund sought; not as "many, who preferred those religious houses which are richly founded and seem to hold a rank in the world, a thing very absurd in persons who renounce the world and profess a state of abjection and poverty."[1] Here they, therefore, embraced the religious life, and became successively prioresses, living endued with saintly virtues, which, after death, were evidenced by miracles.[2]

[1] Alban Butler.

[2] Matt. Par. The nuns of Catesby continued to maintain to the last an edifying holiness. The visitors at the dissolution are not very good evidence on such a subject, but they say, "The house of Catesby

Edmund did not follow their example, feeling perhaps that his vocation lay in the schools. Yet he was a frequent guest in monasteries, yet living, when he was so, not as a guest, but as one of the brotherhood. He spent a twelvemonth or more at this time in the Priory of Merton, in Surrey. And long afterwards he returned here again, "going in and out among them as though he were one of the Sons of that Church."[1] The Cistercians became attached to him, and little opportunity as their rule allowed them for talking, they delighted in his conversation and admired his devotion.[2]

After he had passed the competent time in the study of arts, he became a master himself, that is, he opened a school and taught. We cannot determine how much of his time thus occupied was spent at Paris and at Oxford respectively, but it was divided between the two places. So far from allowing this new duty to interfere with the devotions he had hitherto used, it only impelled him to add to them. Accordingly, though it was not

we founde in verry perfett order, the priores a sure, wyse, discrete, and very relygious woman, with ix nunnys under her obedyence, as relygious and devout, and wyth as good obedyence, as we have tyme paste seen, or belyke shall see. The seid house standyth in such a quarter, much to the releff of the kyng's people, and his grace's pore subjects, their likewyse mo relieved as by the reporte of divers worshyppfull nere thereunto adjoyning as of all other yt ys to us openly declared; wherefore yf yt shuld please the kyng's highnesse to have eny remorse that eny such relygous house shall stande, we thynk his grace cannot appoynt eny house more mete to shew hys most gracious charitie and pitey over than one the said house of Catesby."—ap. Dugdale, M.A. iv. 638.

[1] Jul. D. vi. (2).

[2] Quidam fratrum in ipsius valde delectabantur colloquiis. Id.

usual for the teachers in arts, who were not yet in holy orders or beneficed, so to do, he made it a rule to hear mass and to say the canonical hours every day before he commenced his lectures. For the better facility of so doing, he built in the parish in which he happened to lodge a small chapel, which he frequented for this purpose. The means of doing this were provided for him by his patrimonial estate, which had come into his sole hands. But he seems to have soon disburthened himself of this, for we find him making over his tenements in the town of Abingdon to the Hospital of St. John, outside the east gate of Oxford.[1] To this practice of saying the canonical hours he brought many of the students by the influence of his example.

And as he did not suffer study to encroach upon devotion, so neither did he find it incompatible with the performance of works of mercy of the most laborious and harassing kind. An instance of this is furnished by his behaviour to a sick pupil. Hearing that he was poor and in want, he had him brought to his own lodgings, and for five weeks that he kept his bed the saint lay on a couch by his side, attending him night and day, not content merely to provide for him what he stood in need of, but rendering him with his own hands the most menial offices. And every morning after a night of this labour and fatigue, he went forth as usual to the disputation.

Indeed, he seemed hardly at any time to allow himself the repose of entire sleep. For though he

[1] A. Wood. Hist. Antiq. ii. p. 9.

had in his chamber a bed furnished in the usual manner,[1] yet he did not sleep in it, but lay on a bench at the foot of it, or else on the ground. But ascetic habits, like self-indulgent ones, grow upon a man, and in time he began to find the recumbent posture too great a luxury. So he would take his rest at night, sitting upright wrapt in his scapular, or at most in a cloak. And this practice, those who were intimate with him believed,—for so secret did he keep his austerities, that it could not be ascertained with certainty—that he had observed for the last thirty years or upwards of his life. This, coupled with the most vigorous abstinence, made his friends fear for his head. They thought human strength could not support so much, and that he would either die under the discipline or lose his senses.[2]

He rose at midnight to matins, which he attended, when in Paris, at the church of St. Mery. He never returned to his couch, even such as it was, after he had once risen, but spent the time which remained till daylight in prayer, weeping and groaning before the altar of the blessed Virgin in the same church, and then betook himself to the schools with the rest. In short, he could never be said to sleep; but if nature was sometimes overcome during his long vigils, he would lean his head against the wall and obtain a few moments of repose as he sat or knelt. Thus was always applicable to his rest, what one once said of himself when asked if he was sleeping, "Non dormio sed succumbo."

[1] Satis honeste stratum.—B.

[2] Credebant quod capitis esset incursurus insaniam.—B.

Thus he passed six years in teaching in arts. He was probably still young, for it was usual for mere boys to graduate in arts,[1] when he was called to the study of theology, by a vision which has become, perhaps, the most well-known incident in his life. He was engaged in a course of mathematics, and dreamed that his mother appeared, and asked, pointing to the diagrams which lay before him, "Son, what figures be these thou art so intent on? Henceforth, quit them, and give thyself to such as these," drawing in his right hand three circles, which she marked with the names of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity. For as, even in the most devout, the intellect needs previous training before it can venture on theology as a science, so there is always danger lest it should rest on subjects that are but preliminary, and mistake for the support and occupation of the intellect that which a wise Christian education assigned only for its discipline. From this danger Edmund was preserved by the interference of her who had guided him all along. Whatever was the nature of the vision, he felt it a divine call, and, from this time, applied himself to the study of theology exclusively. Such was his ardour, that the days seemed to him too few and too short, and he continued in study almost the whole night through. Yet it was not that intellectual ardour of which the end is, after all, but self, but that love of divine knowledge which leads to the abnegation of self. Of this he gave a notable instance. For at this very time, when he seemed to have most

[1] About this time Cardinal Robert, Legate in France, in his regulations for the university, forbade any one from reading in arts before twelve years of age. Bulæus, iii. 81.

need of them, he did not hesitate to part with his books, that he might have wherewith to relieve some scholars who were in want. His whole library was, indeed, but the Old Testament with the Gloss and the Decretals. For when the Archbishop of York, who had heard of his application to theology, and probably of his want of books, had offered to have a Bible written out for his use, he refused, fearing that some monastery would have to be burdened with the expense and the labour of transcription. Yet this was not from setting little value on his books. For once, on a journey between Paris and England, he had committed his Bible to the charge of one of his companions, who lost it. On learning the loss he had thus sustained through carelessness, Edmund was moved even to anger. This, he used to say, was the sole occasion in his whole life on which he was overcome by that passion.[1]

After some years spent in the study of theology, he proceeded to the degree of doctor, at the entreaty of his friends. And this degree then implied actual teaching, as the title by which it is still denoted in universities implies, S.T.P., Professor of Sacred Theology. And St. Edmund's teaching was such as sought the spiritual edification of his hearers, and not their intellectual advantage only. Many instances are related of its effects on the better disposed. Men of great station, who would sometimes come to hear him lecture, were so affected by his words, that they would shut up their note-books, being affected even to tears. Some possessed of rich benefices resigned them, and entered into religion, for the purpose of

[1] Tunc semel, nec amplius toto tempore vitæ suæ.—B.

pursuing after that wisdom of which his words had given them, as it were, a glimpse, "preferring her before sceptres and thrones, and esteeming riches nothing in comparison of her."[1] One night he saw in a dream a large fire kindled in his schools, out of which were drawn seven burning torches. The vision had its fulfilment on the morrow. While he was lecturing, Stephen of Lexinton, an Abbot of the Cistercian Order, entered his schools, and, at the conclusion of the lecture, seven of his scholars followed the Abbot into his monastery at Quar, in the Isle of Wight. "The fire of the Divine word which the Holy Spirit poured among them through the mouth of the lecturer, mightily inflamed their hearts to the love of poverty and forgetfulness of the world." One of these seven, by name Stephen, afterwards became Abbot of Clairvaux.

His countenance was significant of the heavenly wisdom with which he was gifted, being noted for a subtle and joyous grace, and even a beauty peculiar to itself.[2] It was as though the splendour of divine love, which had prepared for itself an abode in his breast, made the casket which contained it transparent, giving light to those around. Another vision which he had showed from what source he sought this illumination. One day he had mounted the chair from which he was to hold his disputation, and was revolving the subject in his mind before commencing. The question for the day was on the Trinity. While he awaited the arrival of the rest of his pupils, he was overtaken by sleep for a moment;

[1] Wisd. of Sol. vii. 8.

[2] Præ cæteris disputantium colorata.

during which he saw, in a dream, the Holy Spirit, in the shape of a dove, fly towards him and place in his mouth of the blessed body of Christ. On rousing himself, he disputed on the Blessed Trinity with such surprising subtlety, depth, and fervour, as almost to exceed the power of the human intellect, so that it seemed to his hearers they heard an angel, rather than a man, so did he open to them the depths of that unfathomable mystery.

Nor was he less powerful in his discourses "ad populum," than in the schools.[1] He had an eloquence in his preaching which wrought even on the minds of the coldest. It was usual with him in preaching to hold in his hand a crucifix, on which he would look from time to time, now with tears, now with smiles. When asked the reason of this diversity, he said, he wept to think that among so many hearers there should be so few doers of the word; but that he smiled again when he recollected the benefits which that Cross had brought to the world. An instance of the effects of his preaching is on record in the case of a distinguished person. This was William Earl of Salisbury, the half-brother of the late king (John). He had led the usual life of a baron, and had his share in the civil wars and commotions of that reign. And he looked on religion and its ordinances with the same contempt as the rest of the knights who were about that prince. Of course he never confessed, or approached the holy altar. His last expedition had been into Gascony in the service of the young king Henry. On his return he was over-

[1] Assiduis prædicationibus quibus plurimum vacabat, plures ad Dominum attrahebat. Trivet. Annal.

taken by a tempest in the Bay of Biscay. After many days and nights tossing to and fro, the earl, and all who were in the ship, despairing of their lives, threw all the treasure and jewels into the sea, that as he came naked into this world, so he might pass out of it despoiled of all earthly ornament. In this his utmost despair, a waxen light of great size, and shining with great splendour, was seen by all in the ship, on the summit of the mast, and near it a woman of exquisite beauty, protecting that bright light from the fury of the wind and rain.[1] This deliverance no doubt had an effect on him. And after his return to Salisbury he was persuaded by Ella, his countess, to listen to Edmund. At his first interview the mere sight of the holy man's face softened his brute's nature.[2] Turning to Ella, he said, "I believe verily that this is a man of God." He confessed in Edmund's presence to a hermit, and afterwards received with fitting devotion the Body of Christ. Nor was this a temporary reformation. He died shortly after this in great penitence. Being on his deathbed, in his Castle of Salisbury, he caused the bishop, Richard Poor, to come to him, that he might minister to him in confession and the last rites. When the bishop entered his chamber, bearing the Body of Christ, the earl was lying on his bed in a high fever; indeed it was thought he had been poisoned. But he exerted all his remaining strength to throw himself from his bed; and tying a cord round his neck, in token of humility, prostrated himself weeping upon the floor, and crying out that he

[1] Matt. Par.

[2] Ad ejus aspectum bestialis ejus animus humanior est effectus.

was a traitor to the Most High; nor would he be raised up till he had made his confession and received the Holy Sacrament. And so having for some days persevered in acts of penitence, he yielded up his soul to his Redeemer.[1]

At another time a certain prostitute proposed to her companions, for sport, "to go and hear this canting fellow, and see what he is like."[2] She went, and was converted from her wicked life by his words.

All this intellectual labour in teaching and preaching was supported, not so much by the body, and by bodily refreshments, as by the soul energising almost without the body. The streams of instruction that flowed from his mouth were fed not by the hard intellectual labour of a few hours, but by the perpetual meditation of the Divine nature in which his whole soul was occupied. It has been said[3] that invention in science, or success in business, are only attainable at the price of "ever thinking of it." But the most ardent in the pursuit of science or gain cannot be so unceasingly occupied with their subject as the Saint with his. For all the varied acts of which a religious life consists, though they seem diverse and distinct, yet are but so many expressions of the one thought ever present, — one, yet infinite. Thus, whether studying, teaching, preaching, meditating, or praying, Edmund's mind circled around God, and his only meat seemed to be to do the will of Him that sent him. Sleep he seemed to regard as an emeny that would be ever robbing him of some moments of

[1] Matt. Par.

[2] Eamus ad papalardum illum et eum cominus videamus.

[3] By Newton.

spiritual joy. Nor was his abstinence less beyond the ordinary measure of man. He seemed to regard abstinence as a virtue which, like chastity, would be marred by one single deviation, and so he had kept it himself from his childhood unspotted. None who shared his meals could ever recollect that he had eaten such an amount as is ordinarily sufficient to satisfy appetite.[1] The moral virtue of temperance both in food and drink is requisite, under ordinary circumstances, for high achievements in the world. This when exalted to the saintly degree becomes abstinence, and seems, if we may judge from the lives of all the Saints, to be an equally indispensable element of spiritual perfection. Every Friday throughout the year, as we have said, he tasted nothing but bread and water. Often he would forego the water, till the want of liquid parched his mouth and lips so that they cracked[2] like the earth in drought, piteous to look upon. The physicians, according to the notions of the time, ascribed to this poverty of humours the early loss of his hair and beard. To the prescribed days of abstinence he added a practice of his own, of abstaining from flesh Mondays and Wednesdays, from the Epiphany to Lent. He did the same on the days on which he said mass and the day preceding. So that sometimes, out of Lent, he would not taste flesh for a whole month together. He very rarely ate more than once in the day, and only when induced by the presence

[1] Nunquam potuerunt perpendere eum ad communem hominum satietatem comedisse.—B. The same is said of St. Godfrey, Bishop of Amiens. Surius in vitâ.

[2] For "fessa," we should read "fissa," in B. ap. Mart. and D. iii. p. 1793.

of friends. He ever avoided dainty viands, and never tasted seasoned dishes, spices, or sauces. He never liked to be asked beforehand of what his meal should consist, nor would taste of any dish commended in his presence.

Being continually in prayer, he adopted laborious postures, and those of three degrees. First, he knelt, or rather was continually rising, and falling on his knees, as it were knocking at the gate of heaven. This always with the bare knee on the ground, so that one of them was ever wounded and bleeding, while the other was covered with a protuberance of hard callous flesh. When he had no longer the strength to rise, he continued on his knees, but prostrating his whole body, at intervals, on the ground. And lastly, when too much exhausted to continue this motion, he was fain to content himself with bowing his head repeatedly. Every day he worshipped every member of Christ crucified from the head to the feet, saying as his eye rested on each, Adoramus te, Christe. And every day he said, in addition to the canonical hours, those of the Holy Ghost, and of the Blessed Virgin, adding to these the Office of the Dead.

So great was his contempt for money at this time, that what he received from his pupils he used to place in the window, and sprinkling it with dust would say: "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust." Sometimes his friends would take it away in jest, or it would be pilfered, without his inquiring after it.

His dress was of the ordinary grey cloth,[1] a long

[1] "Grisius," which Surius renders "colore cinericio."

robe or gown reaching to his feet like the frock of a monk. He would avoid in this respect unbecoming meanness as well as expense, and thought that the estate of a clerk required a fitting appearance.[1] When he had worn them sufficiently long, he bestowed them on religious women, widows, or virgins under a vow. Caps or gloves, then marks of wealth and luxury, he never used. He did not much indulge in the use of the bath, thinking purity of mind was sufficient. He would not listen to the harp and instruments of music by which the sense of hearing is gratified. Yet, when afterwards he had a table of his own, he admitted the minstrels[2] to it, looking on them as poor and in need, though they were ministers of folly.

[1] Nec abjecta plurimum sed nec plurimum pretiosa, prout clericalis requirebat honestas.

[2] Histriones.

CHAPTER II

EDMUND AT SALISBURY

EDMUND had had many benefices offered him, and some he had accepted. But he never would hold more than one at a time, and on that he would always reside. And ever and anon the love of his old life of study would prevail; he would unexpectedly resign his preferment, and betake himself again to his old abode and occupation in the University.[1] But he was now going to change permanently, not indeed his mode of life, but his position, and finally to quit the schools. His friends were ever entreating him to accept some benefice that would enable him to devote himself to preaching in an unrestricted sphere. He accepted from Bishop Poor the Treasurership in the Church of Salisbury, in which diocese his native place Abingdon was situated. This was not long before the Dedication of the new Cathedral which that Bishop had built. This took place on the feast of St. Michael, 1225, and was attended with great solemnity. The Legate Otho was there, and an abundance of bishops, barons, and knights. Stephen Langton, the Archbishop, preached to the people on the occasion.

[1] Quotiens lectionibus vacare disposuit, solebat nullius expectato consilio resignare.

From this preferment Edmund sought not the means of luxury or idleness, but a supply of more abundant works of mercy. In these, and in the exercise of hospitality, he was liberal to extravagance. He desired that what was his should be regarded as the common property of the needy. None ever went empty from his doors, but received somewhat, less or more, as seemed to be required by the case; sometimes bread, sometimes corn, or at the least peas and beans, which he ordered to be boiled, and which, in a time of scarcity, were found very acceptable by the poor. A large empty dish was placed before him at meal-time, and into this he put aside a large share of the portion served up to himself. This was afterwards carried by his almoner to some sick person. If there was no such person to whom he could send it, he would set it with his own hands before pilgrims or other poor travellers whom he might happen to be lodging at the time, serving them himself also with drink sufficient. Besides this, every day he furnished food and clothing to those who stood in need of it, desiring thus to make ready for himself ministers and intercessors in heaven.

And this was not merely a liberal alms-giving out of an abundant, or out of a well-regulated, income. It was a fixed contempt for money, and what money procures. He never would hear any statement of his accounts. He considered it unbefitting his character to enter his store-houses or domestic offices.[1] Money he would not touch, or so much as look upon, save that which with his own hand he distributed to those who had need. It was always with reluctance that

[1] Inconveniens hoc esse judicans sui nominis honestati.

he attended the chapters that were held on business. He even solicited and obtained from the Holy See, special letters of exemption from attendance on all suits and causes, such as were tried in the chapter and manorial courts. A most inefficient treasurer he must have been. And sometimes the canons may have wished that brother Edmund had been such a one as Abbot Sampson of St. Edmund's, who had daily laid before him the kalendar or account-book of the Abbey. This contained a register of all the customs, rents, receptions, and payments of the Abbey. And the Abbot, who was one who favoured the active rather than the contemplative life, and liked good officers better than good monks, made this volume part of his daily study, "beholding in it, as in a mirror, the reflection of his own integrity."[1] So that by the time he had been four years abbot, no one could have deceived him in the value of a penny as to the revenues of the church of St. Edmund the King.[2] But though Edmund, after a ten years' Treasurership, most likely could not have done this for the Church of Salisbury, yet his brother canons knew his value, and were loth to lose him when the time came. It was a saying of the dean, that Edmund was not so much the treasurer as the treasure of their church.

And, indeed, though the Saints are our examples, yet there are some of their actions which are rather for our admiration than our imitation. Or to speak

[1] Tanquam ibi consideraret vultum probitatis suæ in speculo. Joc. de Brakelond, p. 22.

[2] Non erat qui posset eum decipere ad valentiam unius denarii. Id.

more properly, ordinary Christians who should take up one or more isolated practices recorded of great Saints, would, in all probability, be led into great error. It is the whole character which gives such practices their proper place and fitness. The virtues of Saints are not moral virtues, or rather, they are the moral virtues exalted to a heroic degree. Moral excellence is not contradicted indeed, but surpassed in their lives. As Augustine shows[1] that the four cardinal virtues are changed in the blessed in heaven: prudence into contemplation; fortitude into firm adhesion to God; temperance into rightly-measured affection; justice into rectitude of heart.

Edmund's defence of himself in this matter took a lower and a practically intelligible ground. When Stephen of Lexinton one day remonstrated with him on the bad economy of his household, he answered: — "It is common with the vulgar to taunt churchmen with avarice; I desire to give no occasion by my conduct for this to be said of me. Also, it is my wish to keep my table ever open to persons of the king's court and other secular persons, that I may thus have the opportunity of gaining them to God."

But with such ideas of the employment of money, we need not wonder that before the first half of the year was expired, he had exhausted his stores of provision, and his money chest. At best the revenues of the chapter were small at that time, for all the canons had bound themselves to contribute for seven years to the utmost of their ability out of their prebendal estates to the new

[1] De Musica, vi. 16.

fabric. When this was the case, Edmund was obliged by his poverty to withdraw into some monastery for the remaining six months of the year. Sometimes this was Merton, more often one in the neighbourhood of Salisbury. The Abbey of Stanley was one he often selected, where his friend Stephen of Lexinton was now abbot. It was a Cistercian house in the northern part of the county, not far from Chippenham. It was called from its foundress, Matilda, the Empress's Stanley.[1]

In such sojourns, in truth, he sought less the supply of his necessities, which were indeed few, as the retirement of the cloister and the society of the religious. He conformed in every thing to their rule. He attended all the divine offices in the church of the monastery, and that with a promptness and joy which warmed the zeal even of the professed religious. At matins, which were at midnight, he would be the first in the church, and the last to quit it. It was remembered of him in one monastery, which was honoured by entertaining him on one of these occasions, that on the feast of the Blessed Virgin he would take his station before an altar, and continue through the whole of the long Cistercian nocturns standing immovable in one position.[2] So the good looked upon him as a perfect exemplar of religion,[3] and the remiss were stimulated by shame, that one wearing the secular habit should so much surpass

[1] Bowles, Hist. of Bremhill, p. 102. Not a vestige of it is now remaining.

[2] Quamdiu monachorum satis prolixæ durabant vigiliæ. B.

[3] Forma totius honestatis et religionis. B.

them. "In his mouth was never aught but peace, purity, piety, charity; in his heart dwelt naught save only Christ the source of all these, who thus through him ministered to many the plenteous fruits of love, peace, joy, long-suffering, faith, and chastity." [1]

It was from no love of ease or indolence that he thus shunned secular affairs. When he afterwards became archbishop, and they became absolutely necessary, and higher interests were involved than the saving of a few pounds, he was active enough; going as ambassador to Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, reconciling feuds between nobles, and undertaking a journey to Rome to plead his own cause against the Earl of Arundel. While his conduct now shows the spirit in which he did all this, as forced upon him for the good of others, while his heart and thoughts were elsewhere, in his oratory or his books, his devotion to sacred study was as great now as when he was lecturing every day. And he was not a studious man after the manner of many, surrounded by books, living amid an exciting variety of subjects and authors, commentators, philosophers, canonists, and all the paraphernalia of the library. "His delight was in the law of the Lord, and in his law did he meditate day and night." The Holy Scriptures alone sufficed him — the Bible glossed, *i.e.* with the Church's interpretation, that help which the Holy Spirit has provided for those who would penetrate into its hidden meaning. The time diverted from this study by meals, sleep, or travelling he considered

[1] Jul. D. vi. (1).

lost. The attendant of his chamber was ordered to have a light ready at any time of night that he might wish to rise.[1] When he disposed himself to read, on opening the book, he always kissed the sacred page. His books were supported on a desk of some height, and immediately under them was set a carving in ivory, representing the Blessed Virgin on a throne surrounded by the mysteries of redemption. "Thus he had before him at once the letter and the thing, what the book expressed in words, the figures represented in ivory"; and thus reason and imagination combined to fix his mind on the one object of all his meditation, the wonders of the incarnation. In this way it was that St. Philip Benet, when dying, called for "his book," by which he meant his crucifix. So St. Vincent Ferrer always composed his sermons at the foot of a crucifix, both to beg light from Christ crucified, and to draw from that object sentiments to animate his hearers.[2]

Thus prayer succeeded to reading, contemplation to prayer, and reading again to contemplation, in a ceaseless round and interchange. If, indeed, change it can be called, when the object is ever one and the same; these different functions seeming in the Saint's mind to be exalted into one, perhaps a near approach to the beatific vision which is their reward hereafter. "This most sweet vision, which," says abbot Gilbert, in his sermons on Canticles, "the Saints may here enjoy, though not complete as it will be hereafter, yet akin to it; akin to it in quality, not in quantity."

[1] Chron. Lanercost.

[2] A. Butler's Life of St. Vincent.

It was while canon of Salisbury that Edmund's services were required in a wider sphere. The fame of his virtues had reached Rome, and the Pope, who was just now seeking for such men to employ them in preaching the crusade, sent him, among others, a commission for this purpose. This was most likely in the year 1227, in which there was a great movement towards the Holy Land, sixty thousand men having gone from England alone. The commission contained the customary clause authorising the preacher to receive support, or stipend, called a procuration, from the rectors of the parishes in which he preached. This Edmund refused to do, having only accepted the prebend in the church of Salisbury that he might be enabled to preach the Gospel without burdening any. The district allotted to him was mainly the central counties of Berks, Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, though he seems to have extended his preaching from Somersetshire as far as Hereford. Upon this evangelic journey God began to give him the power of working miracles to illustrate and authenticate his preaching. Some of these are recorded. They are all of that secondary class which have been called ecclesiastical miracles. Not cures or gifts of healing, but wonders. And chiefly serving for the comfort and encouragement of their instrument, many of them being known to him alone. While the greater and more decided class of miracles, such as those wrought by St. Edmund's relics after his death, are blessings and relief to sufferers, and serve to the edification of the faithful in general, and to attest the victory over

nature which the spirit had wrought while in the flesh.

At a village called Lemestre,[1] a young man, moved by his exhortations, was advancing to take the cross from the preacher, when a certain woman, who was beloved by him, and by whose seductions he was held captive, seeing she was about to lose him, caught his cloak and gently drew him back. The hand with which she held him was immediately palsied. She cried out straightway to the man of God, and confessed her fault. Edmund demanded if she too was willing to receive the cross from his hand. On her consenting he placed the mark of the cross on her shoulder, and immediately her hand was restored to her. A similar event occurred again at a different place.

Once, in the Rogation time, he was preaching in Oxford, in the churchyard of All Saints, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when a violent shower came on. The people, who were seated on the ground, began to move off; but Edmund bade them stay, saying he would beg of God that they might continue to listen to his word without interruption. He was silent a few moments in prayer, and then proceeded with his sermon. Meanwhile, torrents of rain were falling all around, so that the neighbouring street ran like a river, but not a drop fell in the churchyard. A very similar thing occurred at another time, when he was preaching in St. John's churchyard under a tree; and the same miracle was repeated again at Crick, at Worcester, and at Gloucester.

[1] ? Leominster in Herefordshire.

Nothing of importance was undertaken in the diocese of Salisbury, without recourse being had to Edmund for counsel and assistance. The pious Countess Ella, whom we have already mentioned, resolved, about this time, to found a monastery, proposing to retire into it herself at no distant period. In her pious foundations, and in all her acts, she used the counsel of Edmund, as long as he remained at Salisbury.[1] "When she had lived seven years in widowhood, after the death of her husband, and had often proposed to found monasteries, to please God, and for the health of her soul and that of her husband, she was directed in visions that she should build a monastery in honour of St. Mary and St. Bernard, in a meadow near Laycock, called in English Snaylesmede, and which was part of her earldom of Sarum. Accordingly, on the 15th of April 1232, she founded two monasteries in one day; early in the morning that of Laycock, in which holy canonesses should dwell, continually and most devoutly serving God"; and, after nones, that of Hinton,[2] a priory of the Carthusian order. Ella was often visited by Edmund when she was at Laycock, which was very near to Stanley, one of his retreats. She was once very sick of a fever when he came to see her, and, on going away, he promised to send her a physician who would cure her at once. He sent a portion of the blood of St. Thomas the Martyr, and she recovered immediately on receiving it. "The cure," says the biographer, "might probably be owing

[1] Book of Laycock ap. Bowles, Hist. of Laycock Abbey.
[2] *Ibid.*

to the virtue of the relic; but Edmund's prophetic foresight of its effect must be esteemed miraculous." On her recovery, the countess would have made him a rich present of jewels. But he would not so much as look on them, still less accept them.

CHAPTER III

EDMUND AT CANTERBURY

He was now called by God to a wider sphere. His virtue was no longer to be confined to one diocese, but to be brought out in the face of England, as a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid.

Stephen Langton died in 1228, and was succeeded by Richard Graunt. But he filled the see of Canterbury barely three years, dying in 1232, in Italy, on his way back from Rome. It was a troublesome prerogative this that the monks of Christchurch vindicated to themselves at so much cost, that of electing the archbishop. As far as any advantage to themselves was concerned, they had much better have been without it; for they never could succeed in getting the man they would have wished, if left to their own free will. They never could choose independent either of the king or the court of Rome; and, after innumerable vexations, harassing journeys, first to find the king, then to Rome; after delays, hearings, adjournments, mortifications, and expenses, it became quite a chance what stranger they might have for a bishop at last. Not that, as a body, they have any claim to our respect. They brought many of their distresses on themselves, by their vacillation and their servile anxiety to stand well with the court.

They had ever taken the political side in all disputes; and every archbishop that had attempted anything for the reform of the Church, had found his own chapter one of the most obstinate of the component parts of the opposition. John of Salisbury[1] writes of them, "The Canterbury monks seem to hold hatred to their archbishops as part of their inheritance. When Anselm was in exile in a righteous cause, they never offered him aught for his consolation; Ralph they contemned, William they hated, for Theobald they laid snares, and lo! now Thomas, without cause, they cease not to persecute."

Their exile and persecution for Langton, though it was not voluntary on their parts, had probably done them good. And they had been favoured in their two last prelates. Richard was of becoming life, and learning sufficient; and he had journeyed to Rome to lay before the Holy See certain disorders in the administration of the realm. He had procured authority to redress them, but died on his return, and all his labour was lost, and the monks had again to go through the storms and troubles of an election.

On this occasion, the recollection of what they had suffered for Langton threw a weight into the scale of the king's party, and it was resolved to elect a person who should be quite acceptable at court. They pitched on Ralph de Neville, Bishop of Chichester. He was at this time Chancellor; and, by way of turning a compliment, the monks said in their petition to the king, that they hoped this choice might prove as auspicious as that of the last Chancellor

[1] Ep. ii. 36.

who had been raised to the Archiepiscopal dignity; alluding to St. Thomas. The allusion might appear injudicious when we remember in what cause Becket had suffered, and that it was Henry's grandfather who had murdered him. But it was not so; he was now a Saint, the glory of England, the pride of Canterbury; and all parties, the court which had put him to death, the monks who had forsaken him, now claimed him as their own. Their fathers had stoned the prophets, and they built their sepulchres.

Their petition was graciously allowed by the king, and he invested Neville with the temporalities. The monks had only to send to Rome for confirmation. Before they set off, their deputies visited the prelate elect, and begged him to contribute to the expenses of their journey, and the necessary fees of the Roman court. This de Neville flatly refused, as savouring of simony. The monks professed not to be displeased by this specimen of his integrity, and hastened to Rome. The Pope appointed Simon Langton, as an English Cardinal, to make the usual inquiry into the character of the archbishop elect. The report was not very favourable; but the chief objections were his having lived so long in the court, and his implication in all the secular business of the realm. Gregory thought a fitter person might be found to entrust the see of Canterbury to. The monks were sent back to make a better election.

It was now the turn of the other party in the convent, the party that leaned to the stricter side. Ralph de Neville had been set aside for his worldly temper and occupations. They thought, therefore, they could not do better than take their own Prior

John, a monk, grown old within his convent walls, and acquainted with nothing beyond them. He went himself to Rome; and, as nothing was known of him, the commission of cardinals were directed to examine him in theology. What such an examination was we learn in the case of another monk of Christchurch, who had been elected to succeed Langton. He was asked, whether our Lord had come down on earth in the flesh; as to the mode of production of Christ's body on the altar; what was meant by Rachel weeping for her children; what was the effect of a sentence given against the right; and what was the canon law on the subject of mixed marriages.[1] The present candidate, however, was more successful than his brother William seven years before. After a three days' examination in nineteen articles, the examiners reported him sufficiently competent in theology. His age, however, and his simplicity seemed to the Pope to disqualify him for a post so arduous. The prior, therefore, at once humbly withdrew his claim, and sought licence to return.

The next choice of the chapter was Richard[2] Blundy, Chancellor of York. But when he came to Rome, it was found that he held two benefices to which were attached care of souls, which had been expressly forbidden by the Lateran Council; and it was besides discovered that Peter de Roches had lent him 2000 marks, which it was suspected that he had employed in bribing the monks, and had endeavoured to get the Emperor to make

[1] Graystanes, Hist. Dunelm. p. 37.
[2] "Joannes," Wend.

interest for him at Rome. And it was known that his principles agreed with his practice; he had maintained the cause of John, and the doctrine of the royal supremacy.[1] This was manifestly a bad case, and there was no difficulty in annulling this election.

Three times the chapter had thus exercised their privilege in complete independence, unfettered by any recommendation, open or secret, at court, and had failed to find a man properly qualified. Their ill-success when they had so fair a trial may reconcile us to see their freedom of election so often controlled. The see had now lain vacant nearly three years. Gregory resolved, therefore, to assist their judgment, as Innocent had done in recommending Langton, and accordingly proposed to them the treasurer of Salisbury. There are some persons whose fitness for a particular office is such, that every one at once recognises it, and they occupy it when it falls to them as naturally as the heir succeeds to his father's throne. This was the case with St. Edmund. As soon as his name was mentioned, the choice approved itself to all, both at Rome and in England. The deputation of monks who had received the recommendation at Rome, had no powers from their convent to elect, and were obliged to return to Canterbury. There was some opposition within the convent from the party who feared the severity of the ascetic Edmund, but it was overruled and the election was made.

Throughout the realm there was but one dissentient voice — and that was his own. When the

[1] A. Wood, Hist. and Antiq. i. 83, but he gives no authority.

messengers who had been despatched to announce to him his election arrived at Salisbury, he was absent. The dean, hearing their business, said, "Your coming is both welcome and unwelcome; welcome for the honour done our church in taking your primate from among us; unwelcome for the loss we shall sustain." The messengers found him at Calne, not far from his favourite retirement, Stanley Abbey. His household gave vent to their joy at the news by clapping their hands.[1] And one of them entered the chamber in which Edmund was intently wrapt in study to announce it to him. He was surprised to be met only by a rebuke for his unseasonable intrusion, and was bid to be silent. He withdrew in confusion, and none dared after this to make the attempt again. Not the least surprised were the messengers themselves that he did not rush out to welcome them.[2] They had had lately to announce more than one election, and had probably never yet met such a reception. At his accustomed hour, neither sooner nor later,[3] he came out of his chamber and saluted the strangers. When they had declared to him the object of their mission, he began to weep, saying, "I am a worm and no man; I have neither the virtue nor the literature that you suppose in me. Men are much deceived in their opinion of me." And he besought them earnestly to transfer their choice to some one more worthy. The next

[1] Familia . . . . plaudit manibus. B.

[2] Admirabantur non modicum, quod illorum non prosiliret ocius in occursum. Id.

[3] Non tardius solito nec celerius. Id.

day, they prevailed on him to accompany them to Salisbury; and here the bishop, and his brother canons, joined in urging him to consent. But he remained immovable in his refusal, and returned again to Calne. The deputation from Canterbury followed him here, and represented to him that by his obstinacy he might be the cause of great mischief; for if he did not accept the see, some one might be put in from whom the church might receive much damage. Overcome at last by their earnest entreaties he yielded, or seemed to yield, for he would not give any express consent, but only said, "He who knoweth all things, knoweth that I would never consent to this election, did I not fear I might otherwise be committing a mortal sin." Content with this, as it was all they could get, they force him into the church, and, prostrate on the ground before the holy altar, chant alternately the Te Deum, sounds of weeping and sorrow mingling with notes of joy. He was elected on the vigil of St. Matthew, 1233, confirmed at Rome on the vigil of St. Thomas, and consecrated at Canterbury on the 2nd of April 1234.

His exaltation changed in no respect the austerity of his life or the temper of his mind. He was only the more careful to watch against any elation of heart on this account, and his humility was more conspicuous than before. He assumed neither purple nor fine linen, but wore his old vest of white, or grey wool, though, that he might not offend others, he put over it a robe suited to his condition. He would often draw off his shoes with his own hand, which, in the Primate of all

England, was a notable sign of lowliness of spirit.[1] On leaving the chapel, he would sometimes carry his cross himself to his chamber. If any of the clerks who attended him had been prevented from hearing mass at the ordinary time, he would himself say one for their use. When travelling, if any one, no matter how humble, requested him to confess him, he would dismount at once, and hear his confession on the spot with the utmost kindness and devotion, and never refused, either on account of the unseasonableness of the hour, or because the place at which he was to rest was not far.[2]

To himself only was he severe; merciful and compassionate to all others. He was like "the olive tree in the house of the Lord," which, to use his own comment, retains to itself the bitterness of its stock, giving forth good gifts to others; to the hungry, food, to those in darkness, light, and oil to the faint. But the poor and afflicted were, above all, the objects of his fatherly care. He had ever borne towards them the bowels of love and pity, but now he seemed to give himself up to their service. No beggar ever went unrelieved from his threshold. No traveller of honest condition was ever refused entertainment. He caused his attendants to visit the houses of the

[1] In primate totius Angliæ humilitatis indicium singulare. Id.

[2] In curious contrast with this is what is related of an Elector-Bishop of Mayence in the last century; that passing in his carriage one day through the streets of his capital, he saw a man taken suddenly ill. He stopped his carriage, and bade his footman fetch a clergyman from a neighbouring church. He had completely forgotten his own possession of the spiritual powers necessary. Robertson, Pref. to Möhler Symb.

sick and infirm, many of whom he maintained as daily pensioners upon him. The daughters of poor men he would provide with a competent portion when they grew up, that they might marry, and bear children in honest wedlock. To this special object he set apart the amerciaments and fines which were paid in his courts for certain offences.

A certain knight had to pay eighty pounds, for a fine, or relief, of a manor which he held of the see of Canterbury. It was a great exertion for him to raise such a sum. The archbishop received it, but immediately returned it, as a dower to portion out his four daughters, whose marriage must have been otherwise postponed.

The custom of heriots was introduced by the Danes, and prevailed still in some manors. It was, that, on the death of the tenant, the lord claimed the best goods, piece of plate, etc., or, more commonly, the best beast of which the tenant died possessed.[1] When this happened, the widows of the defunct, knowing his compassionate heart, would come before him and plead their poverty and distress. He would answer, in English, "Good woman, such is law and the custom of the soil here." And, turning to those who stood by, he would add, in Latin or French, "Yea, and an evil law, and a custom, verily, of diabolical, and not of divine origin, that a poor widow should lose, together with her husband, whatever of most worth her husband hath left her." Then, turning again to the suitor, "If I lend to you the use of this beast, will

[1] Heriot = *here-geld*, the lord's money. Or, *here-gat*, the lord's beast.

you keep it for me well?" at the same time ordering his bailiff to restore it.

He steadily refused all presents of whatever sorts. Such gifts were commonly offered to men in power by inferiors; they were not bribes, but were considered legitimate means of propitiating their favour and securing their good offices. But to Edmund they seemed so many snares, tempting him to follow some other direction than the strict rule of justice. "Shall the devil," he would say, "who never could deceive me in this way when I was poor, prevail now that I am rich and want nothing? It is by gifts which are neither given nor accepted as done before God, that Christianity is corrupted in these days; and they will destroy it insensibly, unless God give us his grace to clear ourselves from this plague."[1] A bishop once sent him a rich present of plate and jewels. But, knowing something of the archbishop's mind, he gave the commission to one of his clerks who was well known to Edmund, and who would therefore, he thought, be able to prevail with him to accept them. When Edmund resisted all his entreaties, the messenger begged him only to accept a single ring, containing a stone of great value, and this he urged, not for the gift's sake, but for that of the bearer, that he might not have to go away dishonoured. "I have one ring," was all the answer; "what should I do with another?" The bishop thought he might yet prevail, if he offered him somewhat of a less costly kind, and withal of some use. He therefore pro-

[1] Per dona quæ nec data sunt nec accepta secundum Deum, corrupta est Christianitas, et deficiet priusquam hoc advertant Christiani. B.

cured two bed coverlets, the most elegant, however, that were to be had. One of these he gave to Edmund's brother, and prayed that he would only prevail with the archbishop to accept the other. Edmund not only refused, but rebuked his brother severely for his complaisance. "He has, then, gained you, but he shall not gain me; I trust my book," pointing to the Scripture, "rather than your words." As a last attempt, they offered him a silver pix, as though not for himself, but for his chapel. But "in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird." "*Prendre* and *pendre*," he would say, "differ but in one letter."

He was particularly jealous in requiring purity of all who were about him. In hiring a servant he would stipulate, that, should it happen that they suffered themselves to fall in this respect, they should receive what was due to them, and immediately quit his household.

The female sex he ever highly honoured and esteemed, both on account of their devotion, and out of reverence to the Blessed Virgin. Many besides the Countess Ella found in him an adviser and friend. A certain Baron's only daughter, in Northamptonshire, left an heiress by her father's death, desired to devote herself to religion. By advice of the man of God, she had entered the nunnery of Catesby, of which his sister was the prioress. With this nun he kept up a continual intercourse by messengers, sending her words of support and consolation.[1] Being one Easter in the

[1] Venientibus et redeuntibus nunciis hanc ut unicam charissimam salutare solebat, et congruis subsidiis relevare. CHRON. LANERCOST, in which "Northfolciæ" is perhaps a mistake for "Northantunæ."

neighbourhood of Catesby, he sent to his sister to desire her to hasten to his court at that festival for their mutual consolation,[1] and to bring this nun with her. When they arrived on Easter eve, embracing the latter in the presence of all, he said:—"If the world were not more evil in its judgments than we in our thoughts, we would never separate!" At another time when one of his friends was venturing to find fault with him for allowing this intimate friendship to subsist, he meekly made answer:—"If all the actions of my life were to be written on my forehead, I should have nothing to blush for in respect of this description of sins."

His habits of study and devotion he continued, as far as he could, such as they had been at Salisbury. But they were more broken in upon by duty and business than before. The time spent in travelling from place to place he grudged as so much lost. He would spend almost the whole night in prayer, beating his breast, and falling with his bare knees on the floor, in such a way as to disturb the sleep of his clerks who were lodged in the rooms beneath. Some of them were so weary of these and his other austerities, that they quitted his service on various pretexts. Thus the savour of life was to them a savour of death. In the performance of the mass he handled all the vessels with such a reverence, that the mere sight of it provoked the beholders to devotion. All through the office he was in tears, as though he were beholding with the bodily eye the Lord's Passion being enacted.

Such was his manner of life throughout. Thus

[1] Causa consolationis venire non desistat. Id.

he had lived while lecturing at Paris, thus he continued to live after he had laid upon him the care of the whole English Church. Nay, he rather added to, than diminished, the severity of his habits as he grew older. Let us observe the large proportion of his day which was devoted to praise and prayer. Meditation and devotion were his business, his serious occupation, and his temporal engagements a mere break or blank in his existence. This is, in short, the secret of his asceticism. Such extreme mortification of the body, even could life be supported under it, would be torture were the mind unoccupied, or occupied only with temporal things. Love venting itself in praise and assiduous meditation, is the support absolutely necessary to such a life. Hence some who have attempted lower degrees of severity have sometimes failed through want of this mental aliment. "His fall into heresy," Mr Roper would often say of himself, "did first grow of a scruple of his own conscience, for lack of grace, and better understanding. For he daily did use immoderate fasting and many prayers; which if discretion and counsel had prescribed, it had been well; but using them of his own head, without order and consideration, thinking God never to be pleased therewith, he did weary himself *usque ad tedium*, even unto loathsomeness thereof."[1] It is beginning at the wrong end to attempt great austerities (such as are done as penance for sin being excepted) where faith and love are weak. "The extraordinary austerities of certain eminent servants of God are not undertaken by them without a particular call,

[1] Ap. Wordsworth's Eccles. Biogr. ii. 118.

examined with maturity and prudence, and without a fervour equal to such a state."[1]

But it would seem that he that is to be brought to perfection, must not only be fortified by an austere self-discipline, but must needs pass through the furnace of outward trial. The trials of active life are generally more formidable and searching to the character, than those to which we are exposed in a life of quiet and seclusion; and so in an ascending scale the wider the sphere, the more momentous the interests, and more important the questions involved: in that degree is the test to which the man is put more active, and the quality of the virtues called into play more refined. Thus it has been said, that an age which produces great men is one which has produced great evils. It is through resistance to a force of more than ordinary magnitude that men are made heroes. High qualities are called out by the vigour of the evil they have to contend with. But the apparent magnitude of an evil is no true gauge and measure of its real iniquity. Those which are popularly thought most of, which excite most clamour under the name of abuses, are generally of the least mischievous class; material evil in some shape or other, such as economical mismanagement, injustice, partiality in the distribution of the goods of this life. But the subtler forms of evil, unseen by the grosser eyes of the generality, are those which are likely to press most heavily on the spirit of the perfect. And we may well conceive that the mind of the Saints, which is "the same mind that was in Christ Jesus," as it

[1] A. Butler, i. 536.

assigns their just place and proportion to the divers degrees of good, altering in this the common judgment of men, so it weighs and judges of evil by a very different standard from that prevalent in the world. It cannot but be, that, as the soul advances in love of the good, its sense of evil should become more exquisite. We cannot tell the source or nature of that sorrow which wrought the agony of Gethsemane. No more are we adequate judges what keen pangs a saintly spirit may not feel at the sight or contact of sins that we may overlook.

We have seen what Edmund's private life was; such as of itself must have produced a saintly character. But it was the trials of his public life which perfected him, which entitled him to the rank which he holds as confessor in the church. For these he was gradually prepared and trained by the private discipline of the church and the cloister. He had gained the victory over the great foe — himself, before a new world was opened out to him to conquer. So untrue is the notion entertained by some, that monastic virtue is hollow and unpractical, affording no security against the temptations of active life; when, on the contrary, it is the only perfect means of bracing and arming the character.

To sum up shortly, what seems to have been his peculiar trial,— it was, the secular spirit which had invaded the church. To find the world worldly causes no surprise; that is Satan's kingdom, and in it and with it he wars as on his own ground, and without disguise, against the children of light. But to come from a life and retirement such as Edmund had hitherto led, from the abstract con-

templation of the high calling of the Christian, of the glorious privileges of the children of light, and then to find, in fact, that the very persons who enjoy this calling, and claim to be heirs of these privileges, are themselves most ready to barter them away, are anxious to do away the barrier between themselves and the world, and to amalgamate with what they are professing to renounce, this is to find treachery within the camp of Israel, to look round for friends, and to find them the first to betray the common cause. That the king, the barons, the lay people, some or all of them, should be in opposition to him, might neither surprise nor grieve him. But the bishops were unfriendly; his own chapter disliked his asceticism; the legate went against him in everything; and, worst desolation of all, the very occupant of the Holy See seemed little inclined to support him, if the king or the crown party were to be in anything offended or resisted.

At first the archbishop seemed to make great progress in arranging matters which had been long subjects of contention. For example, the long-standing disputes with the Convent of St. Augustine were set at rest by a composition, both parties abating something from their claims for the love of peace.[1] These were minor matters, and related to claims of jurisdiction, tithes, and appropriations. For example, the abbots insisted upon having the church bells rung when they entered any parish which belonged to them. This had always been resisted by the archbishops, but was now conceded

[1] Pro bono pacis concedunt. Thorn. ap. X. Stript.

by Edmund. These seem trifles, but they were not, for under them lay hid the really important subject of dispute. The formal cause of all the jealousy which broke out in these details was the exemption which the convent of St. Augustine had procured for themselves from the jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury; which exemption they had gradually extended to several of the churches which belonged to them, and which they were continually aiming to extend to all of them.

The archbishop's difficulties with his own convent were of a graver nature. We have seen how the prevailing party in the chapter had sought to have a man out of the king's court for their bishop, and when Edmund was recommended to them by the Pope, they had demurred through fear of his character for asceticism. The account given by Giraldus of his entertainment there helps us to a knowledge of these monks. Passing through Canterbury, and being lodged at the convent, he was invited by the prior to dine with the monks in the refectory. Instead of the three dishes of very meagre quality which the rule of St. Benedict allows, he was astonished by seeing sixteen of a must sumptuous description brought in one after another. The fish and eggs were dressed in every variety of method which the skill of the cook could invent, and accompanied with rich sauces and spices to provoke appetite. After all this a dish of pot-herbs was brought up, round all the tables, of which they just tasted, to keep up the semblance of Benedictine diet. Tent, claret, and every variety of rich wine abounded, so that beer, for which Kent was especially

famous, found no favour. They professed to observe silence during the meal. But what with signs, and signals made by hand, arms, and head, passing between the prior and the monks who served, messes being sent from the higher to the lower tables, and those who received them returning thanks by gestures, and the hissing sounds they substituted for a call,—"with all this one might have thought himself," says Giraldus, "among so many actors or jongleurs."[1] In this state of things they would hardly be likely to wish for the company of St. Edmund. And we can very easily understand how disagreements should arise between them, though we know nothing of their details, and, according to the testimony of a contemporary,[2] it would not be to the credit of the chapter that we should. "This year (1188) a dispute arose between the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury, about which the said archbishop journeyed to Rome. And then both parties having laid their case before the Pope, it was found and proved that the monks were guilty in certain articles, which, out of respect to that Church, it is better to hide than to speak of. Notwithstanding of the truth of these allegations are many well certified. After the discovery, however, John, the prior of Canterbury, fearing for himself, and out of dread of the severity of the canonical inquiry, resigned his office and passed into a house of the Carthusian order." The convent, thus destitute of a prior, called on the archbishop to appoint one. This he delayed to do for some reason or other, whereupon the monks

[1] De Rebus a se gestis, ii. 5. [2] Annal. Waverl.

appointed one themselves. This infraction of privilege was met by the archbishop by an excommunication of the prior so elected, and of all those who had had any share in his election, and by laying an interdict on their church. The monks interposed an appeal to the Pope, and in disregard of the interdict continued to celebrate and ring their bells at the usual hours.[1]

There might seem, at first, little reason to fear that any difficulty could arise to the archbishop on the part of the king—a king such as Henry the Third, of whom even his enemies allowed, that, though "little wise in matters of the world, the more did he abound in devotion towards God."[2] It is almost incredible, that not content with hearing three high masses every day, he was assiduous in frequenting other private celebrations.[3] But devotion alone, where the other gifts of the Holy Ghost, which make the perfect man, are deficient, will not ensure right action. Good intentions and a pious disposition are only one ingredient in a good will. Henry the Third is a remarkable instance of the harm that may be done by the weakness of an otherwise good character.

> Non per far, ma per non fare.
> Vedete il Re della semplice vita
> Seder la solo, Arrigo d'Inghilterra.[4]

For this he is placed by the poet among children,

[1] The words of the Annals "usque hodie," in this place, show that this entry was made at no great distance of time after the occurrence.

[2] Rishanger. [3] Id.

[4] Dante, Purgatorio.

and others who have lived useless lives, and are punished chiefly by darkness and solitude.

At first, indeed, the archbishop seemed to succeed in his efforts, and to make more progress towards obtaining the settlement of a good government by his representations than all the armed resistance of the earl marshal had been able to effect. Very shortly after his election, and before he was consecrated, the archbishop attended a Parliament held at Westminster (Feb. 1234). Here he joined or headed the other bishops in a remonstrance with the king on the lamentable state of the kingdom. The evil complained of was shortly this. Henry did not, like his predecessors, govern himself. He left that for the most part to the great officers of the Crown, who thus became ministers. The party at present about him were Peter de Roches, and the Poitevin, who had made their fortunes under John. They were a small party, hated by the native nobility, and only powerful by their money and their mercenary soldiers. Under the king's name, these foreigners worked their own will and pleasure in the realm. But not without meeting a strong opposition from the native party, far the most numerous, which showed itself in raids and plundering expeditions against the castles and lands of their opponents. To these they very scrupulously confined themselves, abstaining from the indiscriminate devastations which had been practised by both parties under John twenty years before. Still it was a very serious evil; the poor people suffered much. The obvious remedy was to get rid of Peter de Roches and his party, and

to entrust the government to the chiefs of the native party. This was the object of the advice and remonstrance offered to the king on this occasion by the archbishop. We may wonder that Edmund issuing from such an abstract and contemplative life should have understood enough of the situation of affairs to have been able to judge what was best to be done to cure the existing evils. But politics are very simple to one whose eye is single, and whose aim is only to do good. In every practical question, there is but a right and a wrong; and it is rare that there can be any doubt on which side the right is to be found.

The king, who was truly desirous of peace,[1] promised to attend to their petition, but required time to exact the accounts from the present treasurer. On the 2nd of April the archbishop was consecrated; and, in a parliament held shortly after, the king dismissed Peter de Roches, sending him back to his bishoprick, and desiring him henceforward to occupy himself wholly with its affairs. Such was the royal authority, that the mere word of a weak and helpless prince like Henry was enough to overthrow this formidable prelate and his whole party.

The king then proceeded to despatch the archbishop into Wales to bring Llewellyn to terms. He was successful in this, and met the king at Gloucester, with an account of his success. It had seemed likely that the disgraced ministers would escape without further notice of their misdeeds, when a new crime of theirs, the issue of which had just come to

[1] Qui modis omnibus pacem sitiebat. Wendover.

light, provoked the king to greater rigour against them. This was the death of the marshal, Richard, Earl of Pembroke, who had fallen by treachery in Ireland. This had been contrived by letters sent in the king's name to the Irish lords. A copy of these had fallen into the archbishop's hands, and he now read them before the king and the bishops and lords who were present. At this discovery of the plot that had been laid for his life, all who were present were affected to tears; and the king among the rest. And the archbishop said, "the real authors of this letter and contrivers of this treachery, whosoever they are, are as much guilty of the death of the earl, as if they had slain him with their own hands." The king declared, that while in the hands of the Bishop of Winchester and Peter de Rivaulx, he had ordered his seal to be put to many documents presented to him, without knowing their contents, and that this letter must have been among them. On this, writs were issued to summon the four ministers, viz. the Bishop of Winchester, Peter de Rivaulx, Stephen de Segrave, and Robert Passelewe, to render an account of their administration of the treasury, and especially of their abuse of the king's seal. They either refused to quit the sanctuaries to which they fled, or compounded by fines; and so, for the present, peace and order were restored to the kingdom.

And so, for some short time, they remained. Not but that many things were done, many practices continued, which were very grievous in the archbishop's eyes; yet still in many the king listened to his counsel. And it is no little praise of any court

that one so entirely alien from the easy and accommodating principles of this world as St. Edmund, should have had any weight in it. Henry's court was not, indeed, like that of his saintly contemporary, where a Dominican friar was in more honour than earl or knight, but yet it seemed purity compared with those of the preceding sovereigns. But there are other things equally forbidden by the Law of God, besides coarse licentiousness, things which a minister of God may not pass over unheeded, and in which obedience is perhaps more difficult for one in power, inasmuch as the right and wrong, though plain, are not always so obvious.

William, Earl of Pembroke (elder brother of Richard, who was killed in Ireland), had died in 1231. His widow, Eleanor, King Henry's own sister, had, in the first excess of her grief, resolved on entering a convent. She had not taken the habit and veil, *i.e.* made her final profession, but had taken the vow of continence, when Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who, according to the chronicle, was as tall and goodly a person to behold as he was a brave knight,[1] succeeded in engaging her affections, and they were married by the king's consent, and in his own chapel at Westminster, by his own chaplain. The archbishop, in whose hands the countess had made her vow, had in vain endeavoured to prevent this breach of it. In order to get rid of his opposition, and to secure himself for the future, Simon de Montfort had recourse to Rome, and procured thence a dispensation. It may be wondered why the archbishop had contented himself with

[1] Chron. Lanercost.

remonstrance on the occasion, and had not at once excommunicated the offending parties. But his jurisdiction was not, at this moment, supreme in England. The courtiers had very early begun to fear that the new archbishop was likely to prove an inconvenient obstacle in their way, and had considered how they might rid themselves of him. At some times, and in some reigns, this could have been done by the short and familiar method of violence, banishment from the court, or the kingdom, if necessary, of the prelate who stood in the way. But Henry would not hear of such a mode of dealing with any bishop, much less such a holy man as St. Edmund. It would answer all the purpose to obtain from the Pope a legate, who, acquainted with affairs, would be found more flexible and accommodating. Or, even in case he should not be quite as subservient as was to be wished, he and the archbishop would still be a mutual check upon one another. The legate sent was Otho, cardinal deacon of St. Nicolas, in Carcere Tulliano, who had been in England before, in Stephen Langton's time. He was received with every mark of honour and respect. The king met him at the water-side, attended by bishops and clergy; and it was particularly noted by such as were great in interpreting little things, that, in saluting him, he bent his head as low as the legate's knees. Some of the bishops who were most eager to secure his goodwill, or had most cause to fear his severity, had sent forward presents to him while he was yet at Paris, selecting, as the most acceptable offering to a cardinal, scarlet cloth. And as soon as he reached England, bishops,

abbots, and chapters vied with one another in making him rich offerings, according to their means. Among others, the Bishop of Winchester, learning that he was to spend the winter in London, sent him fifty oxen, one hundred measures of wheat, and eight hogsheads of wine, for his provision. But Otho, who knew the jealous opinion that prevailed in England of the rapacity of Roman ecclesiastics, assumed great moderation, accepted some of the presents, as it were out of courtesy, and refused the rest, and altogether, by his discreet and temperate behaviour, obviated some of the discontent which his mission had occasioned. Those who had not been parties to the invitation sent to Rome could see no occasion for it; there was no public quarrel, no flagrant disorder, nothing that called for the mission of a legate.[1]

Edmund, however, understood for what purpose he had been sent for, and complained to the king of his having taken this step without consulting, or so much as informing, either himself or his parliament. The sort of retort to which he thus exposed himself was obvious; that he did not wish to have his jurisdiction infringed and invaded by the presence of a legate. For a legate's power was boundless; he represented the Pope in the province to which he was deputed, and, on all public occasions, he occupied the place which the Archbishop of Canterbury would otherwise have filled. When the Prince of Wales (Edward the First) was born, the legate, though not a priest, baptised him, the archbishop taking the inferior place of confirming him. And

[1] Nesciebatur ad quid veniebat. Matt. Par.

when a council was held in St. Paul's, the legate's seat was, by his own direction, raised above that of all the other prelates present, the two archbishops sitting lower, Canterbury on his right and York on his left.

Nor was the real purpose of Otho's unexpected appearance in England long a secret from any one. He began to exercise his privilege of filling up at his discretion the vacant preferments. He insensibly relaxed his first apparent self-denial, and gradually acquired a goodly array of servants, horses, plate, and furniture. At the same time, at a council that he convoked, he passed many good and salutary canons, or constitutions, for the enforcement of the much needed discipline in the English Church. Thus he offended that large class of the clergy who considered license as their birthright, and claimed a sort of national privilege of exemption from the law of the Church universal, in a double manner, by his canonical rigour, and by his assumption of pomp and state. The spirit in which this class, and they represented the prevailing sentiment, met his reforms was displayed in a speech of the Bishop of Worcester. He was Walter de Cantelupe, the son of one of John's satellites. When the reader came to the statute forbidding pluralities,[1] he rose, and laying aside

[1] These provincial councils were not held for the making new canons. Such could only be made in a General Council presided over by the Pope. But a selection was made previously by the legate, with the advice of a select number of the prelates, of such canons (of the fourth Lateran council chiefly) as were considered most needed or most seasonable for the particular kingdom or province. These were then read in the Synod and accepted by them, after which they became the canon law of the Province.

his mitre, addressed the legate in behalf of sinecures and pluralities. He represented them as injured men whose property was being attacked, and vested rights invaded. "Many of them," he said, "are men of high birth, and noble English blood, who have lived their whole lives in honour and no mean state, their doors ever open, both for hospitality and for alms. Would you by one stroke deprive these of the means of this magnificence, and condemn them in their old age to an ignominious poverty? Others again, are young, fiery spirits, vigorous hands, and be assured they will never submit tamely to be stripped of their benefices. I judge of them by what I feel within myself. Before I was advanced to the episcopal dignity I resolved within myself that sooner than surrender peaceably, on the pretext of any such canon as the present, one of the benefices I now hold, I would run the risk of losing all. There are numbers of us in a like disposition. We beseech you, therefore, as you regard your own welfare[1] and ours, to refer this constitution to our lord the Pope before you resolve on enforcing it." The legate was not a Pandulph, nor had he an Innocent the Third to support him. This insulting defiance was so evidently well received by the assembly that he was obliged to temporise, and to promise to take these arguments into consideration. After such a moral demonstration, however, it is manifest, that, whatever statutes might be passed at this synod, they would remain a dead letter.

The legate met with another repulse about the

[1] Salutem.

same time, in an attempt he made to extend his authority into Scotland. "The Church of Scotland," said Pope Gregory, in the brief which he forwarded to him for this purpose, "depends immediately on the apostolic see, which is its only mother and metropolis. It would, therefore, be little fitting that this, our own special child, should lack our special love and consolation, or be deprived of that benefit of our legate's visitation which we are indulging to the neighbouring kingdom."[1] But discipline in this Church was still more decayed than in the English; national customs had superseded the canons to a greater extent, and the mass of the clergy were as little disposed as prepared to submit their state to the judicial eyes of a legate. They fell back for protection upon the laity, whose interest was equally concerned in the maintenance of things as they were. They professed that the national honour was touched by this unwarrantable intrusion of the legate. The king himself (Alexander the Third) advanced to meet Otho at York. A legate's visitation, he assured him, was quite unnecessary; there was nothing amiss in the Church of his realm. Both himself and the barons were very well satisfied; Christianity flourished; the Church was prosperous.[2] Such assurances, and coming from such a quarter, only produced the contrary effect to what was desired, and the legate was more than ever convinced of the necessity of his presence. Then the king declared that if he

[1] Epist. Greg. ix.

[2] Christianitas floruit, ecclesia prospere se habebat. Matt. Par.

came he could not answer for the consequences, such was the unpopularity of himself and his office. However, the legate persevered. The claim of the Pope to visit the Church of Scotland was so indubitable that it could not be resisted, however unpalatable it might be; and accordingly, two years after we find the legate at Edinburgh holding a synod, and attempting to revive something of the lost spirit of the Church among the degenerate clergy of that kingdom.

We have dwelt on this spirit of opposition to the legatine visitation, as it opens to us the tone and temper of the English Church in the time of St. Edmund. And unhappily not in St. Edmund's time only, but throughout its whole history, from the later Saxon times to Henry the Eighth, we can trace the working of the same corrupt leaven. Our island has justly to boast of her great Saints, of the abundant zeal and high munificence of her nobles, and the earnest devotion of her people. But when from those illustrious examples we turn to look at the condition of the mass of the clergy, when we close the lives of the Saints, and open the page of general history, we find a prevalent temper of covetousness, ambition, and sensuality almost the characteristic of the clergy, secular and religious, alike. And from such habits of life spring, as the natural growth, the peculiar political doctrines, the national bias of our clergy, their leaning to the crown rather than the Pope, to the visible rather than the invisible kingdom, their jealousy of foreign interference, their preference of laws made by a parliament composed of men of

the world, to canons enacted in the spirit of the Church. In the eyes of the contemporary monk of St. Alban's, who chronicled his proceedings, the legate Otho was a poor Italian, who was sent to England to make his own fortune and that of as many of his friends as possible, to extort money under diverse pretexts his sole occupation; and we have some difficulty in recognising the same Otho who accompanied Louis the Ninth to the Holy Land, and whom we find in company with that Saint, burying with his own hands the corrupting corpses of the Christians before Sidon.

We may suppose how Edmund felt this evil; indeed, it came home to him in every direction, on every occasion on which he had to act. Yet the clearness with which he saw, and the keenness with which he felt the evil, did not lead him to a violent and uncompromising warfare against it. Loud denunciations and declamation against abuses are not arms that can be used on behalf of the Church. Such evils are to be fought against by the silent prayers and unseen mortifications of holy men. Some even thought the archbishop too remiss and lenient.[1] One of the bad practices of the time was that of the clergy, and even those of the regular orders, exercising the offices of the king's justices itinerant, and sitting in other of the king's courts. The Bishop of Lincoln, the celebrated Robert Grosseteste, was very urgent with the archbishop to check this disorder, which was encouraged by the king, though it had been prohibited again

[1] A multis reputabatur minus justo rigidus. B.

and again by councils.[1] One of those who lived with him, presuming on this familiarity, ventured to remonstrate with him, saying it would be better to lose his archbishoprick than see his Church so oppressed. He answered, that if the possession of the archbishoprick was of more value to him than the clay under his feet, he would at once resign it.

Not, however, that he was inactive. Such was the opposition he experienced from his own monks, that it could not be settled without an appeal to Rome. He undertook the journey himself, and a deputation of the monks followed. He wished for an amicable adjustment of the dispute. This was apparently effected; when the monks, without any previous notice, presented a list of charges against the primate himself. What they were we do not know, but we can easily imagine them. However, the state of the case was quite understood at Rome, and the monks' petition was dismissed with ignominy.[2] It happened during his stay at Rome, that on the feast of St. Gregory, the Pope (Gregory the Ninth) invited the cardinals and all the prelates who were at Rome at the time to a banquet.[3] The Archbishop of Canterbury, though urged to go by his friends, stayed away, and was the only one absent. On this very occasion the nephew of the cardinal of Præneste was assassinated in the Pope's presence. It was thought by all that Edmund had been providentially kept at a distance that he might

[1] Epist. Rob. Gr. ap. Raynaldi, an. 1237.

[2] Turpiter rejectis, et penitus reprobatis, cum extrema recesserunt confusione. MS. Fell.

[3] Ad caritatis poculum. B.

not be obliged to look on this deed of blood.[1] Such was, even then, the opinion entertained of him.

He returned to his see, but not to peace. The king had never forgotten his opposition to his sister's marriage with Simon de Montfort. This had first alienated him from the archbishop, into whose arms he had at first thrown himself, and to whose counsels he had listened exclusively. But the king's marriage had further weaned him from Edmund's influence. It had brought a new set of courtiers about him; Provençals, relations of the young queen, Eleanor, daughter of Raymond, Count of Provence. Her uncles soon got the management of the king into their hands, and aimed only at turning it to their own profit. Under these circumstances, it became very difficult to obtain grants of money from the parliament. Their reluctance increased every year; indeed, Henry had almost to purchase the aids he required by some fresh concession, some further abridgment of the prerogative of the crown. The sources of revenue that were independent of the great council of the barons, became thus of more importance than before. Among these, a very fertile one was the produce of the vacant sees and abbeys. This was now regarded as a settled regular portion of the royal income. It was no longer looked upon as an invasion of the rights of the Church, but as a matter of course, that they should be kept vacant several years for the benefit of the treasury. We hardly ever find a see filled up under two years. And, the richer it was, the less chance it had of being

[1] Ne Sancti ejus violaretur obtutus, Dei providentia id fiebat. Id.

speedily provided for. And the mode of prolonging the vacancy was no longer by threats or actual violence, as Rufus had done, but by the vexatious delays of law and form. The monks or canons of the vacant see had first to find the king; then, after following his motions from place to place, license to elect was issued, when it could be no longer withheld. Then they returned to their chapter to elect; then again to the king to announce the election. Then the king considered of the election; at last objected to it;[1] and the monks returned to make a fresh choice. If this was refused, perhaps the electors appealed to the Pope. And so in going backwards and forwards to Rome, not then a journey of ten days, but of three months, we can easily see how months and years might be disposed of. While the king's treasury was the only gainer, the diocese or monastery was the loser. No wonder that chapters were always so disposed to rebel against their bishops, for by these long intervals of anarchy they acquired habits of independence. When he did come, and attempt to exercise his legitimate authority, they looked on him as a usurper, an intruder.

All these evils of the practice were set forth by the archbishop in a complaint addressed to the holy see, in which he prayed that a custom so ruinous to the Church might be put an end to; and proposed that when a church of any description had lain vacant six months, the archbishop of the province should be empowered to fill it up himself. Nothing could appear more reasonable; the Pope

[1] Per cavillatores quos ad hoc tenuit conductitios. Par.

seemed to consent, and St. Edmund thus had fair hopes of gaining for the English Church this, the the last article, necessary to complete the freedom, which St. Thomas and Stephen Langton had so hardly earned. But the court of Rome waited for advices from Otho. He suggested that such a bull would alienate the king, whose revenue it would touch. And Henry was so excellently disposed towards the Pope, and so ready to attend to the suggestions of the legate, that it would be a pity to offend him. This, which was certainly sensible and sound policy, prevailed at Rome; the letters which had been actually issued were recalled, and the archbishop's petition set aside.

The consequence of this at home was, that the archbishop was looked upon as a defenceless prey, whom every one might attack and plunder that would. Enemies he could have none personally; but there are some men whom the mere passive resistance of the weak enrages, and who are indignant that they are not sufficiently quiet under injury. Nobles and barons invaded the property and privileges of the see, as if they had a right to them. The Earl of Arundel took possession of a manor, the wardship of which fell by right to the see of Canterbury. Even Hubert de Burgh, whom Edmund had been the means of restoring to the king's favour, turned upon him. The Earl of Arundel appealed to Rome, and the archbishop was cast.

Another victory was gained over him by the convent of Rochester. John had made over to Stephen Langton the patronage of this see.[1] That is, not

[1] See the writ in Anglia Sacra, i. 386.

that he had given the archbishop the nomination of this suffragan, for that was not the king's to give; but he had assigned to the metropolitan all the rights over the see of Rochester that were the king's. The archbishop was henceforth the lord or patron of this ecclesiastical fief; was to give investiture of the temporalities, or regalia, as they were called, when they belonged to the king; to have the custody of them during vacancy; and to him were to be done all the services which had been done to the king. A vacancy happening at this time, the chapter elected Richard of Wendover. The archbishop refused to confirm the election; the chapter appealed; and after the suit had been three years pending, sentence was given against the archbishop. The monks returned victorious,[1] the archbishop submitted, and consecrated Wendover with his own hand.

An anxious part of the archbishop's duties was the state of the old monasteries. The greater part of the larger and more important monasteries in the kingdom were of old foundation, and filled by what were then called, from their dress, Black monks. We call them Benedictines, to distinguish them from the various later Orders introduced since the Conquest. But we should have a false notion of them if we supposed that they observed, or were under, the rule of St. Benedict immediately. That might be the form and prototype of their rule, but in fact each separate house was regulated by its own set of rules, the growth of time and usage,

[1] Redierunt cum summa victoria. Edm. de Hadenham, Anglia Sac. ii. 349.

or rather lived according to usage and custom, without any code or written rule. They were Benedictines only because they were not Cistercians, Præmonstratensians, or of any of the later Orders. Now the Cistercians, as is well known, were merely a revival of the original rule of St. Benedict, and nothing more. So that if the Black monks had had any title to the appellation of Benedictines, they must have been nearly identical with the Cistercians — Cistercians in a black gown. But nothing could well be more different. The Black monks never thought of themselves as in the same class of persons, as congregated under one roof for the same purpose, as the newer Orders. It was not that flagrant misconduct and immorality prevailed in these establishments. There were cases of such, no doubt, and that in religious houses of every class, new and old; but these were the exceptions and not the rule; and they were abhorred by all, and punished accordingly. Even in the sixteenth century, when discipline was still more lax, the visitors had to stretch falsehood and exaggeration to the utmost to make out their case, and to give a colouring to their sacrilege, by establishing the charge of immorality against the monks in general. And in the thirteenth century this was still further from being the case. It was a less tangible, and therefore more hopeless species of corruption that had invaded the older houses. They were not debauched, far from it; but they seemed to have quite forgotten the original notion of a monk, and the primitive intention of the cloister. Or rather they had not forgotten it: they knew

very well what it was; they read Cassian and Sulpicius Severus; but they looked upon all this as no longer applicable to their times and circumstances. Nay, the rule of St. Benedict itself was not forgotten, it was read on certain days in chapter. Many of the more important ordinances, and a still greater number of the minute and circumstantial directions were kept to the very letter. And for such as were not kept, immemorial usage to the contrary, founded on a good reason, would have been alleged at once to an objector. So that no one's conscience was troubled, and no sense or perception of inconsistency between their practice and their profession remained. When, in 1249, Innocent the Fourth sent round certain questions or injunctions to the abbeys in England, most of them could have confidently answered with that of St. Alban's, to each article "Observatur"; "Observatur per omnia." But we can understand by the example to the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, how this might be true, how the rule might be kept, and yet the whole spirit of the monastic life might be fled. In a great part of the colleges, as at present conducted, very much, much more than is often thought, of the letter of the statutes is kept, when nothing of the spirit of the original foundation remains. The fellows are now independent gentlemen, drawing a private income from the common estate, which they spend as they like; but the foundations were for poor students to live in common under the absolute control of their head. So monasteries had been founded for the supernatural life of prayer and praise, aided by severe bodily

mortification. They had become comfortable homes, in which priests lived much in the ordinary way, a regular, sober, easy, unlaborious life. It is true they had to rise early, had poor fare, little flesh meat (at least in well-regulated houses), were much confined to the limits of the cloister, and in other respects enjoyed less liberty of action than the secular clergy. But we must take into consideration, first, the compensations which are to be set against these constraints, such as their freedom from toil and care, the pleasures of literature, and the satisfaction which an innocent, peaceful, and religious life confers. And, secondly, we must compare the life of the monk with that of the class from which they came outside the walls of the cloister; in comparison of which it might be considered one of comfort, and often of luxury. The conventual dinner of salt fish and vegetables, though carefully dressed and neatly served, seems little inviting; but it was more and better than many of the brethren had often been accustomed to as children at a yeoman's board. The habit was coarse, and plain, and inconvenient; but it was better than tatters. The offices might be long and sometimes wearisome; but a day's thrashing or ploughing was much more laborious. No wonder that a "monachatus," a monk's place in an abbey of much less wealth and splendour than Canterbury or St. Edmund's, was an object of ambition among a numerous class. If one felt an inward call to a religious life, there were the Cistercian and Carthusian houses, or, at the time we are now speaking of in particular, there were the new Orders of the friars; but the black hood

was very eligible from motives of a much more worldly character. There was no harm in their attachment to an easy, comfortable life, but it was not the object of their institution, nor was it this which entitled them to be called Benedictines. If, then, to recur to a former illustration, we try to imagine the probable effect if an Archbishop of Canterbury were to announce his intention of visiting the several colleges and halls which are subject to the visitation of one or more of his suffragans, and that with a view not only to inquire rigidly into how statutes framed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were observed, but how far the spirit in which a Wykeham or a Waynflete drew up those statutes, was kept alive; he, the visiting archbishop, being one reputed equal or superior in austerity and holiness to Wykeham or Waynflete—if we try to imagine how such a proposal would be received by those most concerned, how wild, impracticable, and chimerical it would appear, we may have some idea how the Black monks were affected when they received intimation that St. Edmund proposed visiting the abbeys in the diocese of London, on the ground that the Bishop of London was remiss in the execution of that part of his pastoral functions. The alarm was great, for if the legate had attempted to enforce that obsolete clause of of the rule of St. Benedict,[1] which absolutely prohibited the eating of animal food,[2] what other forgotten clauses might the archbishop be expected to call their attention to?

But their fears were soon removed. The Bishop

[1] Reg. S. Ben. c. 39. [2] Carnium quadrupedum.

of London stepped in. He considered his jurisdiction invaded by this proposal, and appealed to Rome, pleading that a metropolitan could not visit the monasteries in his suffragan's diocese, where the suffragan was not remiss in visiting himself. It seemed thus a question of canon law; but it was not so, nor was it even a question of fact, as to whether the bishop did visit his monasteries, but, in reality, it was one of opinion, as to what might be considered remissness. And this was one in which St. Edmund was sure to be in a minority. On whatever ground, sentence was given against him, and the monks were saved.

Edmund was not quite singular, however, in his views respecting the old monasteries. It was an object much at heart with the good prelates of the time to revive the severity of discipline in them. The Bishop of Lincoln, the famous Grosseteste, at the same time, made a similar attempt to visit (for that was the form the question took) the chapter of Lincoln, or, as Matthew Paris expresses it, "turned to molest and persecute the monks."[1] They claimed to be visited only by the dean, and considered this a most ungrateful return of the bishop for their favour in electing him, and they told him publicly that they bitterly repented having raised him from among themselves thus to tyrannise over them.

Edmund was in much the same situation with respect to his own chapter at Canterbury. He had laid an interdict on their church, which they neglected, on the ground of having appealed to Rome against it, where the cause was still pending. They looked

[1] Factus est malleus et immanis persecutor monachorum.

upon themselves as aggrieved, as wantonly attacked by him.[1] Thus he was surrounded by enemies, who insulted his weakness and despised his efforts on behalf of the Church. Yet to all he exhibited outwardly the same gracious and benign deportment, behaving even to those who did him most wrong with the utmost charity and tenderness. He admitted all, even to the kiss of peace. Some of his friends told him that he carried this too far, that he made no distinction in favour of such as remained friendly to him. "Why should I offend God," he answered, "and lose the charity which I owe them? If any were to pluck out my eyes or cut off my arms, they ought to be dearer to me on that account, and would more deserve my compassion for the sin which they had committed in their ignorance." Tribulation, he said, was like the wild honey on which John the Baptist fed in the wilderness, bitter at once and sweet. He says in his "Mirrour,"[2] "If we were good, we should have no friends but the good, no enemies but the bad. We ought to love the good because they are good, and the bad because they might be good; and so we shall love all men for the sake of goodness."

He made a last attempt, accompanied by some of his suffragans, to influence the king. But what could be expected from a man who would promise anything, with tears and regrets for the past, to such an application, but, as soon as the archbishop had quitted his presence, would forget both his sorrow

[1] Aggravavit Ædmundus manum suam super monachos suos. Matt. Par.

[2] Cap. 30.

and his promises. Henry was at this time entirely in the hands of his wife's kinsmen; and the whole case is shortly expressed by Robert of Gloucester:—

He drou to other conseil than he was iwoned to do,
And of the rigtes of holi churche, and of the gode old lawe
That he adde of is chartre ymad, he him gan withdrawe,
Saint Edmund pitosliche and ofte him besougte
The he withdrawe of is dede and bet him bethogte.
Ac it was ever the long the wors.

And they always had the legate to support them, with whose countenance how could it be thought that anything was amiss? Among other things, a papal brief arrived at this time, addressed to the archbishop and the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury, ordering them to provide for three hundred Roman clergy out of their first vacant benefices, and suspending them from collating to benefices till that number was provided for.

The archbishop was now thoroughly weary of his office. He saw that he could do nothing as he wished, and as he knew he ought to do it. His reforms were merely ridiculed, set aside without question, or even opposition; all men were agreed that they were fanciful, unpractical schemes. He was in the difficult situation of one who finds himself called to obey, in a public station and in his public acts, a law which none of those about him recognise, which they smile at as over-scrupulousness. An ordinary person, under such circumstances, will yield, if not in all, in some respects, or make a compromise, by surrendering something for the sake of retaining the rest. It seems impossible to him that he alone can be right, and every one else in the wrong. Besides

this, the influence of the opinion of those with whom we habitually converse, though imperceptible in its progress, is yet one of the most certain to which we are subjected. But the Saint has another sort of certainty of the truth of what he has learned, of the inflexible nature of the rule he has lived by. It would be unbelief in him to yield or to compromise; it would be parting with what is not his to give away. It is not for himself or his own objects that he is contending. Particular points in dispute he will readily resign, but fall into the way of thinking and acting of the world around him he cannot. Thus St. Edmund now saw that all resistance was hopeless; its edge was turned by the shield of careless contempt. The men who opposed him had no thought of whetting the spirit of the better class of churchmen, and kindling an opposition, by violent or active measures, against the reformer; they merely neglected him. They did not want to persecute him; they only wished to go on peaceably in their own way, as they had done before. While, on the other hand, he saw that, if he stayed and was silent, he could not avoid being considered to acquiesce in, if not to approve, what was being done before his eyes.

But it is not an improbable conjecture that he may have had a special call to act as he did, in withdrawing from the kingdom; perhaps of such a nature as a vision he had after his resolution was taken, but before he quitted Canterbury. St. Thomas the martyr appeared to him, and seemed to offer to him encouragement and consolation. Edmund attempted to kiss his feet, but the vision forbade

this, and withdrew them from Edmund's approach, which caused him to weep, as not being thought worthy to touch the blessed Saint. But, said St. Thomas, "Weep not, thou shalt shortly kiss, not my feet, but my face." At another time, it seemed to him that he had entered the church of Canterbury for the purpose of prayer at the Martyr's shrine, and that St. Thomas appeared to him, and, with a gracious countenance, said, "I know, father, that thy wish is that I should show thee the wounds in my head." At these words, he seized Edmund's hand, and, passing it over his head, allowed him to feel the scars of the wounds, stooping down for the purpose.

When about to set out, he communicated the secret of his departure only to a few of the religious, whose hearts he knew. They asked him, at once, if his destination was Pontigny. "Yes," said he, "to Pontigny we go; and there, if it please God, shall we work all good works." This, taken in a different sense from that in which it was probably spoken, they understood afterwards as prophetic of the miracles he was to perform after death. Other instances of a foresight almost prophetic had occurred before, in intimations he had given to Albert, Archbishop of Armagh, and William, Bishop of Winchester, of the issue they should obtain out of certain troubles in which they were involved.

His departure from London resembled a secret flight.[1] On a rising ground, from which was a view of the city, he halted, and turning towards it, he gave his solemn blessing to his country, and his

[1] Clandestine et quasi fugiens. B.

curse on the sacrilegious marriage of the Countess de Montfort and its offspring.[1]

He experienced fully the truth of that, a prophet is not without honour save in his own country. When he arrived in France, he was met at Senlis (department of the Oise) by Queen Blanche, the mother of St. Lewis. She brought her sons with her, commending them and herself to his prayers, and begging his blessing for them. The interview was long and affecting. She besought him most earnestly to stay with her, to do that for France which he had not been permitted to do for England, that the realm might be governed by his counsel.[2] But he was flying from the courts of princes, and did not want only to exchange one for another, great though the difference was between Henry's riotous brothers-in-law and the children of Queen Blanche. His heart was set upon Pontigny. But he promised, at the pious queen's request, that the kingdom of France, and the welfare of the king, should never be forgotten in his prayers. And so he took his leave, and hastened on to Pontigny.

[1] Super monticulum prope civitatem Londoniæ. Chron. Lanercost.
[2] Exposuit nutui suo regnum Francorum. Jul. D. vi. (2).

CHAPTER IV

EDMUND AT PONTIGNY

FAR away in Burgundy, about ten miles to the left of the high road, whose undeviating line pierces through that province on its way to Lyons, stood this famous abbey. It was in the territory of the counts of Champagne, and formed the extreme northern point of the diocese of Auxerre. The Serain, a stream which washes the cloister walls, inconsiderable in size, yet formed the limit of so many different jurisdictions, that a popular saying was current, that three bishops and an abbot might dine on its bridge, without quitting their respective territories. The bishops were those of Auxerre and Langres, with the Archbishop of Sens and the Abbot of Pontigny. When Hugh of Macon first conducted hither his twelve monks from Citeaux (in 1114), it was a savage wilderness, penetrated only by the seigneur in the pursuit of his game. But a century and a half, and the labour of the Cistercians, had brought the neighbouring country by the middle of the thirteenth century, into much the condition in which it is at the present day. The monks had ceased to labour themselves, but they had introduced the vine for which those sunny slopes seem purposely created; a small village of peasant de-

pendants had grown up under their protection, and a laughing country rich in corn and wine spread around the abbey in a circle which was widening every year. The traveller who finds his way to this, once again, obscure spot, whether he approach it from the north or the south, from Troyes or from Auxerre, beholds at a distance, on a slightly rising ground, the still imposing mass of the conventual church. Simple and wholly devoid of ornament, like all the Cistercian churches, in the architecture of the twelfth century, it has three peculiarities which, united, produce the most singular effect. These are, its long, plain line of high-pitched roof of slate, unbroken to the eye by battlement or finish of any sort; the absence of all tower or bell-turret; and, above all, the uniformity of its style, the whole, nave, choir, sanctuary, and transepts, having been raised at one time, by one effort, and on one and the same plan. It is, perhaps, one of the most perfect monuments remaining of the original and rustic spirit of Citeaux. And it alone remains, the work of the pious Thiebault, count of Champagne, carrying us back at once to the apostolic age of monasteries; while all that represented later times of degeneracy, the sumptuous and magnificent range of buildings that covered acres, and revealed the sad tale of the victory of the world over faith; that spoke of commendatory abbots, of vast revenues acquired by simony and spent with ruinous prodigality; all this is swept away as though it had never been. We do not regret that they are gone, they were intruders upon holy ground. Dom Nicholas de Chanlatte, with his revenue of sixty

thousand francs, and grand abbatial lodge; the rendezvous of the elegant society and choice spirits of the regency; the model of courtesy and good taste; the admirer of Voltaire.[1] All these are past like a dream, or like one of those cavalcades of spectres which the mirror of the magician professed to exhibit to the awe-struck gaze of the spectator; and we seem to awaken to truth and life when we see the two or three priests of the mission, in primitive poverty and humility, amid the dirt, damp, and squalid ruin that surrounds them, witnessing to the indestructibility of the faith in the presence of an unbelieving generation; and reduced to pray almost alone at the forsaken altars, for a population that has ceased to pray for themselves.

But neither the magnificence of the eighteenth, nor the melancholy desolation of the nineteenth, nor what was the actual prospect that offered itself to his eyes in the thirteenth century, viz. the rich cultivation of valley and plain, were what drew St. Edmund to Pontigny. Indeed, it is little probable that he noticed its outward attractions. After a life spent in mortifying the senses, there is little room or disposition in the Saint's mind, even for that refined indulgence of them which we call admiration of nature. St. Bernard, after walking for a whole day amid the most glorious scenery in the world, on the shores of the lake of Geneva, when

[1] At its suppression, in 1790, the abbey of Pontigny had thirty dependent houses; a revenue of 74,000 francs, and a debt of 348,000. In 1750, Dom Grillot, the predecessor of Dom Chanlatte, pulled down the abbot's lodging, and substituted one on a much grander scale, in the style of the rich and massive chateaux of the time. Histoire de l'Abbaye de Pontigny. Auxerre, 1844.

one in the evening spoke of the lake, astonished his companions by asking, where the lake was? And so ever with the Saints, on their slow and tedious journeys, while the mouth was occupied with the psalms, and the thoughts with God, vineyard, meadow, and orchard, forest and cultivated field, passed by unnoticed and undistinguished. Pontigny was to Edmund an abode of silent mortification, where he might return again to his old life of Merton or Stanley, and have again the company of Cistercians, which had been ill-exchanged during six years for that of his rebellious monks of Christ Church. It was sanctified by the presence of Becket and Langton, and a host of their companions in exile; it kept up a sort of connection with England, and was even bound to himself by the tie of gratitude, having received from him, only two years before, the grant of an annual pension.[1]

He was received by the monks with becoming honour and reverence.[2] He was lodged at first not in the cloister, but close by, in a separate house, the very same, or on the same ground, as that which St. Thomas had occupied for six years. But he did not long continue here. He did not want the luxury and state of a private abode, with its fair

[1] In 1238 St. Edmund confirmed the grant of fifty marks made by Langton, adding ten marks more from himself. The sum was to be paid out of the tithes of the church of Rumenall. (Cart. Pont. ap. M. & D. iii.) Richard the Second secured by writ the payment of this pension, not to be interrupted (as it had been) by the war which threatened to break out afresh between the two kingdoms. And it continued to be paid till the Reformation under Henry the Eighth. Hist. de Pontigny, ut sup.

[2] Cum summo, ut decuit, honore et reverentia. Jul. D. vi. (2).

and privy chambers, or what seemed such to a monk of Pontigny.[1] He did not wish to be treated as archbishop. At the request of the abbot he preached to the convent; and after his sermon he begged of the monks one boon in return, that they would take back their house, which they had assigned him in their hospitality, and would admit him within the walls of the convent on the footing of a brother. It may be supposed how readily he obtained this. He was especially anxious that no distinction should be made in his favour, but that he should be treated like one of the rest. Only it was allowed that one or more of the brethren might exclusively attach themselves to him more particularly than was allowed by their rule among themselves. He did not enter the Order, nor resign his secular dignity; perhaps his humility made him shrink from doing what might have been thought by many too conspicuous an act. For an Archbishop of Canterbury to have become a Cistercian monk could not but have surprised men. Langton in his despair, had thought of doing so, but had abandoned the idea.

His life at Pontigny was such as it had been of old. Some of his time he employed in writing the Speculum Ecclesiæ; at others he went out to preach in the neighbourhood, in the same way as the other monks did.

After nearly two years spent in this retirement his strength began to fail him; not from old age, for it was hoped that removal to another air would recover him. The heat of Pontigny was what he

[1] Cum cameris honestis et arcanis.—Id.

was not accustomed to. The physicians advised him to go to the Priory of Soissy, near Provins. St. Edmund, however, was not deceived, he knew that his end was near. When the monks were grieving at his departure, he said to them, to cheer them, "I will return on the feast of St. Edmund the king (November 20), the summer heats will have by that time passed away." And he kept his word. For on the 20th, his body was brought for burial to Pontigny. He died at Soissy on the 16th. The faithful monk who had long attended him, accompanied him thither, and was the witness of his last hours. Mindful of that, "while we have time let us do good unto all men," he was more than ever solicitous to give abundant alms. On his road to Soissy, he gave something with his own hands to every poor man whom he met. His last strength was expended in going frequently to his door at Soissy and giving alms to the poor pilgrims who passed it. And when he could no longer quit his chair, he assigned this duty to one of his chaplains, bidding him give one, two, or three livres, as he should see occasion, to the traveller, and to take as much as was needed for the purpose out of his chamber.

One day the abbot of St. James' of Provins, wishing to offer something to the archbishop, brought him some stewed quinces, such as are prepared for sick persons; but he refused them, saying, "it is now many years since any food calculated to please the palate, entered my mouth."[1]

[1] The Lambeth MS. (No. 135) resembles throughout the life by Bertrand. But there is a variation here which almost seems to denote

When he was about to partake of the Last Sacrament, and the Body of the Lord was brought to him, he stretched out his hand towards it as if to invoke it, and said in a tone of confidence,[1] "Thou, Lord, art He in whom I have believed, whom I have preached, whom I have truly taught; and Thou art my witness that while I have been on earth I have sought nought else besides Thee. As Thou knowest that I will only what Thou willest, so now I say Thy will be done, for all things are in Thy power." After receiving the viaticum, he was filled with a joy inexpressible, which he strove to express in his native tongue, "Men say that joy goeth into the belly, but I say it goeth into the heart."[2] After extreme unction he asked that the crucifix, with the images of St. Mary and St. John, should be placed somewhere in his sight. It was brought to him. He took it with tears and groans, and kissed it; and then taking some wine mixed with water, which he had ordered to be made ready for this purpose, he washed with it all the wounds of the figure, and then drank the liquid in which he had washed them, repeating the text, "Ye shall drink water from the fountains of salvation." This revival of a custom obsolete, and despised as childish, by so great a man, astonished his attendants.[3] He retained to the last

a different author. The latter says, "Cum recolendæ recordationis Abbas S. Jacobi de Provino ad comedendum cocta porrexisset coctana." The Lambeth MS. has "Cum Abbas Sancti Jacobi de Provino, vel Prior de Soysi, quis eorum memoriæ non occurrit."

[1] Cum ingenti fiducia. B.

[2] Men seid game god in Wombe, ac ich segge non, game gad on herte.

[3] Defæcatæ devotionis insolitum morem. B.

his dislike of a bed, and remained seated, till death actually seized him, when he stretched himself on the ground, so long his only couch,[1] and yielded up his pure and holy soul without a struggle to heaven. This was on the morning of Friday, November 16th, 1242.

Every one about him was aware what it was that had taken place; that a saintly soul had entered upon bliss, and that a saintly body was bequeathed to earth. The only fear of the Abbot of Pontigny, who was with him when he died, was that Pontigny should not have the honour of the confidently expected miracles. In all the towns through which the body passed, such crowds thronged to meet it, and at least to touch the bier, that the bearers were obliged to call in the aid of the authorities to clear the way before they could approach the church in which it was to rest for the night. His promise or prediction was fulfilled to the letter, for on the very day he had fixed, the feast of St. Edmund the King, his own birthday, his body reached Pontigny. In the acquisition of this treasure, another prediction was considered by the monks to have its fulfilment. When St. Thomas was leaving the monastery to return to Canterbury, he expressed his regret on taking leave of the monks, that he was not able to repay them for their hospitality. But he added, "God will send me a successor, who shall discharge this debt for me." The pension of fifty marks which Langton had given, was intended in this light; but now they were more amply repaid by the possession of St. Edmund's body.

[1] Super sibi familiarem stratum recubans, scilicet super duritiem nudæ terræ. Id.

For now began a series of miracles, the like of which had perhaps never been seen in this part, at least, of the Western Church, since St. Martin; but which in the thirteenth century were certainly without parallel; and this, whether we regard their number, their nature, or the evidence on which they rest. As to their number, seventeen distinct cures were proved by the witnesses before the consistory in order to his canonisation. These had been wrought in the six years which intervened between that event and his death. One hundred and ninety-five are enumerated with particulars, in the catalogue which was kept at Pontigny, and which appeared to have been all entered within half-a-century after his death. But the series was not closed in the seventeenth century. So late as 1672 and 1673 two *procés verbaux* were taken attesting the resuscitation of two still-born children at his tomb.[1] But even this vast number, of which the details were preserved, were considered specimens, and not a full and complete catalogue. And as to their nature, if many of them resemble the miracle of 1672, where a child, still-born, was taken to the tomb of the Saint, and after remaining two hours stretched upon the stone showed signs of life, but died not long afterwards; if some of them want that distinct and decisive character which few facts of any sort have, yet, on the other hand, in a great many of the instances given, it is this very distinct and wonderful character which constitutes the main difficulty to our receiving them. For example, thirty of the number are cases

[1] Hist. de Pontigny, p. 105.

of persons raised from the dead. But all objection must be silenced by the nature of the evidence, which is so full, complete, and satisfactory, that all history might as well be rejected if these are to be. We have spoken of that impression of truth which the life of St. Edmund gives, as being written by a contemporary, and an intimate friend. It is so biographical and homely ; minute, though not copious in details, we almost forget that its subject lived six centuries ago. It has not the legendary antique, classical air, remote from our active sympathies, that the Lives of the Saints in general have. This is applicable especially to his miracles. They take their place in the full broad daylight of history, and rank among the other events of the age. They do not lurk in the gloom of the church, or hide themselves within the walls of the cloister. For they fall in an age when suspicion had been awakened, when the probability was beginning to turn against miracles, as it had been in favour of them ; when reason so keenly exercised in the schools demanded that her doubts should be satisfied ; and when the sifting processes of the courts of law were already applied to this very inquiry. And the opposition to St. Edmund's canonisation was long and obstinate. Dying humble and neglected and without a party, he might have been forgotten on his death beyond the circle of his immediate friends, but for the weight of his miracles, which seemed to take the kingdom of heaven by violence. Indeed, there had been found detractors in his life who had denied his virtues. His asceticism had been called superstition ; his zeal for justice, harshness ; his affability,

talkativeness.[1] Nay, he had not even escaped the charge of covetousness, for being obliged to economise to relieve the see of Canterbury of the debt which Langton had incurred on occasion of St. Thomas' Translation, and being besides little inclined to splendid shows and feasts, he had been accused of parsimony as archbishop.[2] It is true that this was the language of those who grudged that what he spent in alms to the poor was not spent in feasting the rich.[3] But those who judged thus were the majority. Thus public opinion represented him. And though his virtues were known and appreciated among those who judged by the standard of the Church, yet it was not without some surprise and incredulity that the first news of the wonders that were taking place at Pontigny were received at Rome. The opposition there encountered is thus described by Archbishop Albert. "So great was the contradiction and sinister interpretation which our pious business (of procuring the canonisation) met in the court of Rome, from the senior and influential persons of the court, that all that was said or written to them concerning his miracles was received with the wildest fanaticism. I myself heard a cardinal holding the following language, 'You are losing your time and labour; we do not, to say the truth, believe your stories of miracles. In fact, the age of miracles and

[1] Malignâ interpretatione conati sunt impii obfuscare. Jul. D. vi. (2).

[2] Archiepiscopatus ære alieno ad vii. millia marcharum obligatus extitit, quem præterea totaliter in stauro destitutum reperit. B.

[3] In divites vel histriones effundere quod acceperat pauperibus erogandum. Id.

tongues has long passed away, and we have given up setting the sanction of the Holy See to them, and only attend now in inquisitions of canonisation to the merits of the party, to such works as are to appear in the judgment at the great day. As far as my own opinion goes, were it not that the general church has received the history and legend of St. Martin, I would say that I do not believe that that Saint raised three persons from the dead. For I cannot think that our Lord Jesus Christ, who, while on earth, himself only restored three persons to life, would have granted so great a privilege to one of His servants.' This very cardinal, afterwards sent into France as legate of the Holy See, visited Pontigny; and being convinced of his error, made a public confession of it, prostrate on the ground at the entrance of the church, and saying, 'They who slandered thee shall draw near to thee, and shall adore the prints of thy footsteps.' And to make a fuller satisfaction, he set up three altars in the same church, consecrating them in the honour of Blessed Edmund associated with other Saints. But when all this opposition was made, partly by England, partly by the sacred college itself, our lord the Pope refused to grant his approbation. And all the friends and procurators of the business were in despair. And well they might. For three or four times had the inquiry been gone through; our Saint's miracles had passed through fire and water, and not the least blemish could be thrown upon them. And yet it was still said that the process must be gone through again, that more witnesses must be produced."[1]

[1] Historia Canonizat. M. & D. iii. 1847.

The result of this was that the archbishop's faithful attendant Bertrand, to whom we owe the life of the Saint that has been so much quoted, was despatched again to England and Pontigny to obtain further proofs. The inquisition had been conducted in England by Richard, bishop of Chichester, the prior of Canons Ashby, and Robert Bacon the Dominican. A new commission was now issued to the Bishops of London and Lincoln. Bertrand visited Canterbury, Oxford, and Salisbury, and all the places where Edmund had lived, both in England and France, and returned laden with certificates from all those who had known him, and with evidence of fresh miracles, which silenced objection. He brought out of Burgundy several persons who had been cured, who were taken to the houses of the cardinals, and strictly examined as to the nature of the disease they had laboured under, and the medical means used. At last all doubts were removed, and all difficulties overcome. On the Sunday preceding the Christmas day 1246, the ceremony of the canonisation took place in the cathedral church of Lyons. For the Papal court was for the time transferred to this city on account of the wars in Italy. Hugh, cardinal of St. Sabina, addressed the people, giving a short account of the life of St. Edmund, and recounting some of the principal miracles, which were so well established, that, by the confession of the adverse cardinals, had those of the older saints been submitted to an equally rigid scrutiny, it might be doubtful whether they would have attained to their present place in the Calendar of Saints.

On the 9th of June following (1247) took place

the ceremony of the translation. It should have been deferred, according to custom, till after the celebration of the feast of the Saint, November 16. But the time was anticipated to allow St. Louis, who was about to leave for the Holy Land, to be present at it. Besides the king, there were present, his mother, Blanche; his three brothers, Robert, Count of Artois, Alphonse, Count of Poictiers, Charles, afterwards Count of Provence and Anjou; and Isabella, their sister. The presiding bishop was Peter, Cardinal Bishop of Alba, the bearer of the Papal bull; a host of prelates and abbots, among whom were Richard, Bishop of Chichester, who had been St. Edmund's chancellor, and Albert, Archbishop of Livonia, his intimate friend, were present. An immense multitude had collected from the neighbourhood to be present on the joyful occasion. A Papal dispensation, expressly obtained for this solemnity, opened the precincts of the monastery to women. The church was filled, and the tomb opened in the presence of all. The body was found fresh and entire, with all the hair on the head, as when buried. It was placed by the hands of Guy, bishop of Auxerre, on the high altar, to give all an opportunity of approaching, inspecting, and touching the holy relic. There it remained till evening, when it was removed by way of precaution into the sacristy. This was Saturday, and the deposition in the new situation it was to occupy was deferred till the Sunday. Meanwhile there was no little dispute in the chapter of the abbey, as to the sort of tomb in which it should be deposited. The abbot and prior, faithful to the Cistercian simplicity so conspicuous in the archi-

tecture and appearance of their church, had prepared a plain stone coffin.[1] But the greater part of the monks wished for something more rich and ornamental. The night passed in this strife within the walls of the convent, and it was at last determined to refer it to the bishops. But they also differed in opinion; and as neither side could be convinced, the dispute was at last determined by the authority of the abbot, and the stone coffin was adopted.

But this did not long retain its place; the prior was removed from his office by the visitors of the abbey, partly for the temper he had shown in this very dispute; and the abbot not long after resigned. Bertrand, St. Edmund's secretary, succeeded as prior, and one of his first acts was a second translation of the Saint's relics from the stone coffin to a chest, or *chasse*, richly adorned with gold and jewels. This was raised on four pillars of copper, and placed immediately behind the high altar under a canopy highly decorated. Thus it remained till 1749, when it was moved for the last time, and placed in a new *chasse*, carved in wood, in the style of the time, and supported at a considerable height by four angels also in wood.

From the time of this translation, Pontigny became the centre of pilgrimage not only to a large neighbouring district, to the provinces of Burgundy, Champagne, Lorraine, etc., but to the whole of France, and the Low Countries, and, as might be expected, England especially. It became the Tours of the east of France. It was just ten days' journey,

[1] Respondentibus quod ordo Cisterciencis in humilitate fundatus humilitatem deberet prætendere. Albert. Hist. Can.

at moderate stages,[1] from England; and from its position it became the first halting place at which the English pilgrim reposed on his way either to Rome or to Compostella.[2] And it may easily be supposed that none passed it without a visit. And it was still resorted to, down to the very close of the eighteenth century; and though the church, like all Cistercian churches, was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, it became familiarly known by the appellation of "St. Edmund's."

The devotion of the people is extinct; pilgrims no longer haunt the shrine; the church is empty, and the angel no more stirs the waters to heal the sick, the halt, the blind, and the maimed. But the precious treasure itself is still there. While the remains of so many of the Saints have been scattered to the winds, this by a singular Providence, has hitherto escaped.

Twice the Prince of Condé's Huguenots[3] sacked the abbey, and burnt all that would burn in the church, but the monks had hid their prized deposit. Again, at the revolution, a furious mob entered the church, this time sure of their prey. It was there, abandoned to their will. But as they mounted the stairs that led to the shrine, a fit seized their leader, and their hands were stayed. Such at least is the tradition of the place. What is certain is, that the

[1] Ab Anglia usque Pontiniacum decem moderatæ numerantur esse diætæ. Albert. Hist. Can.

[2] Situm est in mediculio itineris per quod Romam et St. Jacobum vadunt peregrini. B. This passage has been strangely misunderstood to mean "half-way between St. James' and Rome." But a writer of the 13th century knew nothing of a "court of St. James's" in London.

[3] In 1568 and 1569.

body still rests in its place, and that it has survived so many perils is itself a miracle. It is there—but where is the faith that gave it life and power, that evoked its divine virtue? Is it in vain to pray that God would restore that faith in the Saint's own country; that England may not for ever thus banish her Saints; that the time may come, however distant it may now seem, when, as Africa has reclaimed her own Augustine, England may have the right and the wish to recall her Saint, whom, in a fatal hour for herself, she drove from her bosom!

NOTE.

In the Lives of the Saints in English rhyme, a production of the reign of Edward I., is a careful abstract of Bertrand's Life of St. Edmund, containing nearly every particular of that life. The following specimen may be compared with p. 40 of the preceding :—

In a time at the gang dawes, this holie man also,
Prechede a day at Oxenford, ase he ofte hadde i do :
In Alle Halewene churchyerd ; in the northure side
With the baneres at onderne ; as men doth alonde wel wide.
Ase this holie man with all this folke in his prechingue was best ;
That lodlokeste weder that mighte beo cam al fram bi west,
Swart and deork and grisliche and overcaste al thene toun.
The wynd bleoth also swithe grisliche ase the world scholde al a doun.
So deork it was bicome also that men mighte unnethe i se
Lodlokur weder thane it was, ne mighte nevere be ;
That folke for drede of heore clothus faste bigonne to fleo.
Abideth, quath this holie man, ore loverd is guod and freo,
The devel it is that bringuth this weder for to destourbi godes lore
Ore loverd is strengore thane he ne drede ye eou nought to sore.
He biheold upward toward God and cride him milte and ore.
That he schilde hem from the develes mighte that he ne grefde hem nammore,
Tho he hadde iseid is oresun that wedur bigan to glide,
In the othur half of the Churche al in the southere side ;
Thare it bigan to falle anon and nolde no leng abide,
That unnethe thorugh the heyge stret mighte ani man go othur ride.
Ake in the north half of the Churche thare this holie man stod,
Ne fel nevere a reynes drope for to desturbi a mannes mod,
In the south half thorny al the heige strete it leide on for wod :
That al the stret a watere orn ase it were a gret flod,
That folk that from the prechingue for drede of the wedere drouy,
And that wenden bi the heige strete hadden therof inouy,
Ake huy that bilefden thare druyge and clene were.

LIFE OF

ST. RICHARD

BISHOP OF CHICHESTER

ADVERTISEMENT

THE following life of St. Richard is taken from the two lives published in the Bollandists. One of them is anonymous, the other is by Ralph Bocking, a Dominican friar, and the Saint's intimate friend.

The author wishes to add, that circumstances have led to his publishing these pages at a time when he would rather have remained silent. In publishing them, however, he would unconditionally submit them, as well as anything else which he may have written, to the judgment of authority.

LIFE OF

ST. RICHARD

INTRODUCTION

THE world, probably, never presented an appearance so Christian as at the opening of the thirteenth century. Never was it so clearly expressed in outward acts, and acknowledged as a principle, that the Church, as the representative of Christ on earth, is the ultimate judge in all matters of right and wrong. The long pontificate of Innocent the Third closed with the fourth Lateran council, the most august assembly which Christendom had witnessed for a great many centuries. In the old basilica of St. John, the presence of the Latin patriarch of Constantinople seemed to fill up the gap which the separation of the Greeks had caused in the church, while the head of the lately reconciled Maronites, and the deputy of the orthodox patriarch of Alexandria, represented a great portion of the East. In its first decree the council developed further the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, with the same authority as was possessed by the fathers at Nicea; it then goes on to rule many points of

practice, affecting laymen as well as ecclesiastics. It thus implies that Christendom is politically one republic, administered on the supposition that Catholicism is Christianity, and Christianity the only true religion; and that not only every individual in his intercourse with his neighbour, but every state in its relations with others, as far as it could be said to have a conscience, and every king in his conduct to his subjects, was to be guided by the laws of Christ and of his Church. Thus the canons extend themselves over marriages and wills, over the distinction between ecclesiastical and civil courts, over church-fiefs and lay-patrons, and the taxes to be paid by the clergy. None can fail being struck with the fairness of the provisions of the council. "We forbid," it says, "all clerks from extending their jurisdiction any further, to the prejudice of the secular court, under pretence of defending the liberty of the Church. Let them be content with written constitutions, with customs which have already received sanction, that 'those things which are Cæsar's be rendered to Cæsar, and those things which are God's be paid to him by a rightful distribution.'[1] They form a code of laws regulating the relations between Church and state, between the clergy and laity. What, however, is here most important, it implies in its provisions that points of international law come within the jurisdiction of the Church. That to the Pope, as the head of Christendom, it belongs to provide for the good of the whole, is a recognised principle. What is now carried on by maintaining the balance of

[1] 46 Canon.

power, and by the law of nations, was then done by the Church. The Holy See, in the system of Europe at that time, was considered as the impersonation of divine justice, the ultimate referee in all cases which are out of the common run of things, and for which the law does not provide. As the sanctions by which this code was administered were invisible, so its punishments were only terrible to the eye of faith. The notion that excommunication was a drawing of the spiritual sword, appears senseless to modern ears, but was full of meaning to men who believed that to be excluded from the sacraments was the greatest privation in the world. Every one understood and knew what it meant, even those who knowingly incurred it. Not only emperors and nobles, with their ministers and rude soldiers, but even ecclesiastics, are often found to continue for years under the ban of the Church, refusing to fulfil the conditions by which they might obtain absolution. But then they did it not in unbelief, but with their eyes open, knowing that they were perilling their souls. They knew very well on what terms they could procure absolution. By the provisions of the council, the whole was made a matter of law, so that all men, judges as well as criminals, knew what they were about. In order to restrain churchmen in the use of this terrible weapon, the jurisdiction of each was circumscribed and confined within a certain sphere, beyond the bounds of which it was *ipso facto*, null and void. Several canons provide protection against an unjust sentence, and a punishment to one who had carelessly inflicted

it, "for it is no light fault to inflict so great a punishment on a guiltless person."[1]

These are specimens of the code of laws which the mind of Innocent, at once comprehensive and penetrating, provided for Europe. His pontificate is the culminating point of the middle ages. It was the last development of the movement begun in the eleventh century, and, if St. Gregory shines with more saintly lustre, in the undaunted faith with which he plunged the world into confusion by throwing upon it great and unearthly principles, Innocent is more majestic, in the fulfilment of his predecessor's vast idea.

That Innocent did fulfil it, is evident from the notion which all men have of him, foes as well as friends. Some praise, and others blame him, but all wonder at his success. All men trembled before the inflexible justice seated on St. Peter's chair. Not a cry against oppression was heard in the remotest corner of Europe, but a legate departed from Innocent's side to demand reparation. His was no partial equity; his allies, as well as his enemies, felt the power of his arm. When wars on all sides were staring him in the face, and he well knew that France was his only support, he fearlessly raised his voice to bid Philip Augustus take back his wife, Ingeburga, the friendless Danish princess, whom he was persecuting. The taking of Constantinople by the Latins was against his express commands; he bade them go straight on to Jerusalem. The son of Raymond, Count of Toulouse, fled to

[1] Can. 47. The phrase is so like Innocent, that it is probably from his hand; v. for instance, Ep. 98. Lib. 3. Reg. 15.

his feet for protection against those who had obtained his inheritance, and Innocent preserved for him that portion which lay on the eastern side of the Rhone.[1] In England, also, the moment that John had submitted, he defended him in his rightful dominions against Philip Augustus, whom he had raised up against him, against the barons and against his own archbishop. However high were Innocent's claims, he knew well the distinction between the temporal and spiritual power; and when, for instance, he offered himself as arbiter between the kings of France and England, he said that he did not claim to adjudge a fief, but to judge of an offence against religion.[2] Whatever Innocent was, then, it is at least certain that he proceeded on clear and definite principles, and so posterity is unanimous in the idea which is formed of him, though men differ widely in their judgment upon his conduct. He left behind him a recognised state of things, which was, henceforth, to be the law in Europe. On the other hand, though men have no doubt as to Innocent's personal success, it has been said that its effects soon passed away. If by this

[1] The story quoted by Michelet from the chronicle of Languedoc about Innocent's blessing young Raymond of Toulouse, seems very doubtful. The Raymond who is there called a child, was grown up and married, when this is said to have taken place. It is, however, certain, that Innocent in 1212 forbade his legate to deprive Raymond of his inheritance. Ep. 100, 3. Reg. 15. He also took an interest in young Raymond's education. Ep. 210. 3. Reg. 15, and reproved Simon de Montfort for his injustice, 211 (though it is true he was afterwards convinced that Simon was less to blame. Ep. 48. 4. Reg. 16). Something like what the chronicle asserts may, therefore, have taken place.

[2] Honorius says nearly the same thing. Raynald in ann. 1225, 33.

it is meant, that the policy of the Church of Rome, in these times, is not the same as that which Innocent pursued, it is of course true. But it is not true that Innocent's work died with him. It remains now in its effects, and it enabled the Church to escape the dangers in which it was placed by the pressure of Mahommedanism from without, as well as by the presence of a Mahommedan spirit within her, in the last princes of the house of Swabia, and still more in the great universities of the day. It did not avail against hereditary sovereigns as it had done against the elective Emperors of Germany,[1] but it fulfilled its object in destroying the dangerous power of Frederic. Entering, as we are now about to do, on the thirteenth century, it will be necessary to see how this state of things affected the churchmen of the time, in order fully to understand the elements which were at work around St. Richard, whose life we are now to write.

The Crusades form one of the great features of this century, as of the last. By this time, however, the holy war had assumed a very different form from that which it bore when Peter the Hermit first roused Europe to take up arms in defence of the holy sepulchre. The first crusaders were actuated by no deep policy when they first flew to the relief of Jerusalem; they followed the natural impulses of religious hearts, when they rushed across sea and land to rescue the place which had

[1] Traces of the rising up of a feeling that the empire was inferior as being elective, are seen in St. Louis's answer to Pope Gregory, and in the same Pope's letter to Frederic. Raynald, in ann. 1239, 39. 1227, 23.

been hallowed by the steps of our blessed Lord and by His death. The tears with which the Crusaders bedewed the whole of the *via dolorosa*, and the refusal of Godfrey to wear a jewelled crown where his Saviour had borne a crown of thorns, are symbols of the spirit which animated the first Crusade. But, simple as were the wishes and the thoughts of these brave soldiers of the cross, it is no less true, that the first Crusade "prevented the fall of the declining empire."[1] In process of time, however, Christendom became aware of this, and trembled for its safety. The Crusades, therefore, became a series of struggles between the West and the East. It is wonderful, that those who tax the Crusaders with folly and fanaticism should never have been struck with the imminent danger which for so many centuries threatened Christendom, and with the fact, that the Turks did conquer Constantinople, when the arms of the West no longer kept the Moslems occupied at home. It is forgotten that, in the eighth century, France was only saved by the valour of Charles Martel; and that, in the ninth, St. Peter's, at Rome, might have become a mosque, like St. Sophia, at Constantinople, had it not been for the faith and the courage of Pope Leo the Fourth. After all the storms of the Saracen invasions were over, the result was, that while the Mahometans were undoubted masters of the East, their permanent establishment in Egypt and Africa pressed close upon Europe, into which they extended by the possession of a large portion of Spain and of Sicily. The danger was as pressing as ever in

[1] Gibbon's Decline and Fall, c. 59.

the days of Innocent, when the decaying race of the Saracens had been invigorated by the infusion of the young blood of the Turks. The retaking of Jerusalem, and the union of the divided empire of the Saracens in the person of Saladin, gave a painful lesson to Christian princes on the disadvantages of their own disunion; and Innocent's great wish was to unite all Christendom in a holy war. The Crusade, therefore, was no longer to be carried on by the desultory devotion or chivalry of individuals, as at first; a great and combined effort was to be made to retake the Holy City. Like everything else which was great in the world, according to Innocent's idea, worldly valour and skill in arms were to be consecrated by the cross, and to bear on the face of them a Christian aspect. And so in the Crusade, which was the carrying out of Innocent's plan, it will be seen that the object was not only to recover Jerusalem, but to break the Moslem power, and to substitute everywhere the cross for the crescent, that there might be one fold under one shepherd.[1]

Under Innocent, then, the crusade was a part of the policy of Europe. By the canons of the Lateran Council, "universal peace was to reign in Christen-

[1] See the Bishop of Winchester's wish, Matt. Par. 472. Nos cum ad Christi inimicos qui residui remanebunt, venerimus, trucidabimus, et mundabimus terræ superficiem, ut universus mundus uni Catholicæ Ecclesiæ subdatur et fiat unus pastor et unum ovile. It appears to have been by Innocent's advice that the Crusaders attacked Egypt, and thus extended their operations. Jacob. de Vitr. lib. iii. in ann. 1218. The same author gives an account of the condition of the East made out at Innocent's desire, in order to be fully aware of the state of the whole of the Mahometans.

dom, at least for four years," and all who violated it were to be excommunicated. As for those who refused to join the Crusade, the council bade them "consider with what conscience or what security they will appear before the Only-begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, into whose hands the Father has given all things, if in this matter so peculiarly His own they refuse to serve Him, who was crucified for sinners, by whose gift they hold life, by whose bounty they are preserved, yea, by whose blood they have been redeemed." This was Innocent's last work. In his address to the council, he said, "Because to me to die is Christ, and to live is gain, I refuse not, if it be God's will, to drink the chalice of the passion, whether it be my lot to drink it in defence of the Catholic faith, or in aid of the Holy Land, or for the freedom of the Church. And yet I would fain remain on earth till the work which I have begun be finished." He hardly lived to see it begun, for he died the year after he held the council. It is to the manner in which his work is carried on that we would especially direct attention, not in order to give a continuous history of it, but to fix certain landmarks, as it were, by which the reader may know the position of parties during the age in which St. Richard lived.

The man on whom the eyes of the world were fixed as being destined to fulfil the plans of Innocent was Frederic the Second, the youthful Emperor of Germany. Born of a family ever in opposition to the Holy See, he had been placed under the wardship of Innocent, had been preserved on the throne

of Sicily by him, and at last had been elected emperor by his means, though it had ever been the policy of the court of Rome to separate the kingdom of Sicily from the empire. Frederic was thus the child of the Church; besides he had vowed solemnly when Honorius the Third put the imperial crown upon his head in the basilica of St. Peter, that he would march to the Holy Land to rescue it from the Saracens. He assumed the cross and the imperial mantle at the same time. Besides which the talents of the new emperor, and the charm thrown around him by his youth, and his high station as the first prince of Christendom, made all the world expect great things from him. Soon after the death of Innocent, the affairs of the Holy Land looked brighter than they had done for many a year. According to the plan traced out by him, the Crusaders invaded Egypt, in order to take a wider range in their attack on the Mahometan arms. In 1219, the cross was raised on the walls of Damietta, and the Moslems of Syria and Persia trembled at the news. Much, however, as was the labour of winning the city, it was found harder to keep it. Anxiously did the Crusaders look out towards the sea from the walls of Damietta for the coming of Frederic; "for a long time past," says a letter from the Crusaders' camp, "have we waited for the emperor and other noblemen, by whose coming we hope that this work, begun by so many hands, will have a happy issue. If, however, which God forbid, this our hope of succour be disappointed next summer, our possessions in Syria and Egypt, both those which we have newly

acquired, and that which we have long had, will be in danger of being lost."[1] No Frederic, however, came; he sent a fleet, which, by some misfortune, could not join the Christian host; and he assisted the Duke of Bavaria in fitting out an armament, but he was engaged in other work at home, and Christendom threw the blame of the loss of the city upon him.

The Crusaders might have waited long for Frederic before he came. The fact is, that Frederic was not the man to carry out Innocent's plans. He was a man far beyond the princes of his time in talents and acquirements, a legislator, a poet and philosopher. His leisure hours were occupied in reading, and the works of Aristotle,[2] which by his order had been translated from Arabic into Latin, were often in his hands. But his views of the duty of a Christian emperor by no means coincided with those of the Church. The unity of Christendom and the triumph of the cross over the crescent were objects only secondary to the extension of the Roman Empire, for such in theory was the empire of which he was the head. To recover the dominion[3] which his ancestors claimed over the Lombard cities was the aim of his whole life. The imperial eagle would willingly have flown over to the Holy Land; but he was hovering over the plains of Lombardy, ready to pounce on Milan and Genoa.[4]

[1] Matt. Par. in ann. 1221.

[2] See his letter to the University of Bologna, in Bulæus, vol. iii. p. 103.

[3] Dominium was the technical word which he used, and which the Italians rejected. Vide Muratori, Annali d'Italia, x. p. 352.

[4] Such is Frederic's own language: "Dum tamen pacata nobis

His plans were even wider than this: "I have sworn," he says, "as the world knows, to re-unite the scattered limbs of the empire; and I will not be slow in fulfilling my oath."[1] In his marriages and alliances, he steadily kept his ambitious plans in view. He married the daughter of the king of Jerusalem, and immediately assumed the title of King of Jerusalem in defiance of the right of his father-in-law. He would have had no objection to appear in the East as the acknowledged head of the princes of Europe, and the king of the Holy Land. He is even said to have had views upon England, into which he might have obtained a footing by his marriage with the sister of our weak and unfortunate Henry the Third."[2]

But there was a deeper evil in Frederic's character, and one which was far more dangerous to Christendom than his ambition. A large portion of Sicily, his native kingdom, was filled with Saracens, at one time his turbulent subjects, but afterwards his most faithful allies. In this luxurious island, he thoroughly imbibed the voluptuousness of Eastern manners; and his sensual life destroyed the tone of his mind, and prepared it to receive a more subtle poison. The sight of two religions lying side by side[3] is a trying

Italia, rebus et juribus, quæ proximi parentes nostri tam in Imperio quam in regno pacifice tenuerunt nobis in pace dimissis, alæ nostræ pennas et plumas integrales habeant, quibus ad alta conscendere securius valeamus." Matt. Par. in 1244, p. 620.

[1] Matt. Par. in ann. 1239, p. 484.

[2] See the curious remonstrance addressed to Henry by his people. Matt. Par. in ann. 1244, p. 623.

[3] In the east, as well as in Sicily, Christians were often brought into dangerous proximity with Mahommedans. Baldwin, prince of

thing for a man when his own creed has a loose hold upon him. It was too much for Frederic; and the foundation of his faith was sapped. It must ever remain doubtful whether he gave utterance to the blasphemies imputed to him, and charity would give him the full benefit of the doubt;[1] but, at all events, he became the type of the *bel esprit*, the free and easy half-minstrel, half-soldier of the day. Even the thirteenth century had its liberalism, and Frederic was the leader of it. That Christianity was all in all, the true religion, and therefore the only one, was the basis of Innocent's system; it also implied that the Church was identical with Christianity; and that to be cast out of the pale of the Church and to lie wilfully under its ban was to cease to be a Christian. In these days there is a middle way, however fallacious, to fall back upon; but in Frederic's day there was none, and the faith of that man who refused to the Church the power of the keys and treated excommunication lightly was a very doubtful one.[2] And not only was the whole life of Frederic a denial of this truth, but he seems

Antioch, proposed to give his own niece in marriage to the Sultan of Iconium, and it appears from his account that many Christian women had married Saracens. Du Chesne, v. 452. The Mahommedans even made converts out of the camp of the Crusaders. Dachery, Spicil. iii. 590.

[1] Most authors seem to acquit Frederic of the blasphemy of which he was accused. It is strange, however, that Gieseler should attempt to clear him from the charge of living in shameless habits. That he had several natural children is a fact too notorious to be denied; and the way in which his ambassador at the council of Lyons rebuts the charge is remarkably feeble.

[2] Frederic expressly denied the power of the keys. Vide Gesta Sti. Lud. p, 344, ap. du Chesne.

to have made a protest against it a portion of his creed. The majestic posture of the Church annoyed and fretted him, and he tried to escape from it by looking towards the East. Instead of that oneness of Christianity which was the principle of Innocent's policy, he proceeded in his dealings with the Saracens, practically as if the Christian and Mahommedan religion might subsist side by side. He made an alliance with the Saracens, and talked of his friend the Sultan, and boasted of his influence with him. The great political mistake of this conduct, to say no worse, becomes apparent further on in the history of the century. While the Mahometans were, as it were, knocking at the gates of Christendom, and threatening it on every side, its energies were crippled by the contest going on between the Holy See and the empire. In the very midst of this terrible contest, news arrived in Europe that a foe more dreadful even than the Saracens had arisen in the East; the savage horde set in motion by Zingis Khan poured itself upon the Holy Land. The Carizmians sacked Jerusalem, and profaned the Holy Sepulchre which the very Turks had respected. Nay more, the living tide rolled on to Europe, and the hearts of all trembled within them when it was told that this dreadful scourge was threatening Hungary. And Europe could not unite to oppose them, because the emperor, its natural leader,[1] was lying under excommunication.

This is not the place to enter upon a detailed

[1] It was once an acknowledged maxim—"Imperatorem esse Ducem natum Christianorum contra infideles." Vide Leibnitz de Jure gentium.

narrative of the mode in which that sentence was passed upon him. The justice of it was a point debated at the time when it was pronounced;[1] it is enough that the principle involved in the contest was, that the world should be governed on the principles of Christianity, and not on those of a practical scepticism. The patience and long-suffering of the good Honorius bore long with Frederic's dissimulation, and his violation of vows which he had so often and so solemnly renewed. But his successor, Gregory, was a pontiff of a very different character. The energetic old man had hardly been crowned with his double diadem[2] in St. Peter's, when he wrote to Frederic,[3] explaining in his mystical style the insignia of the imperial dignity, how the cross was marked on the golden ball and on the crown, that he might remember his Lord's Passion and the crown of thorns, and serve Him as a Christian prince. Frederic knew too well with whom he had to deal to disobey the summons. There was a general stir in Christendom, and the emperor was to lead the Crusade in person. He embarked and set sail; but all on a sudden the Christian world was astonished to hear that the imperial galley had returned, and that sickness had prevented the emperor's proceeding. Forty thousand pilgrims are said to have returned panic-struck at the news, and the Crusade was frustrated.[4] Men

[1] St. Louis exhorts the emperor to yield, etiamsi summus Pontifex esset ad aliqua minus debite processurus. Gesta Sti. Lud. p. 336.

[2] Life of Gregory ap. Muratori.

[3] Raynaldus in ann. 1227.

[4] Gieseler merely says that Frederic was forced by sickness to ask a new respite, without mentioning the doubt whether he really was

were divided at the time as to the reality of this sickness; but at all events the deed, says Matthew of Paris, turned to the grievous hurt of the business of the Lord. The indignant Gregory excommunicated him; but Frederic, despising the sentence, the next year, with a small retinue, passed over to the Holy Land, and without drawing his sword or putting lance in rest, concluded a peace with the Sultan on principles which were yet unknown to Christendom. The cross and the crescent were to have equal right in the Holy City; while the Holy Sepulchre was to belong to the Christians, the site of Solomon's temple[1] was given up to the followers of Mahomet. He treated with the Sultan not as a Christian emperor, but as a friendly European monarch; and "an equal code of civil and religious liberty was ratified" for Christian and Mahometan.[2] Christendom was astonished at this novel union; and Frederic's conduct seemed to justify the pontiff in the eyes of Europe for an act which had before been condemned as hasty.

From this time to the end of Frederic's long reign, there was but little peace in Christendom. The emperor was once reconciled to the Church, but it did not last long, the old question of the freedom

prevented by sickness, a question which it seems hardly possible now to decide.

[1] This means, probably, the mosque of Omar. Muratori seems to think that it may be the Holy Sepulchre; but that templum Dei means the Jewish temple is plainly marked in Gregory's letter to the Duke of Austria, ap. Raynald. in ann. 1229. Gibbon need not, therefore, have accused the clergy of wilful error.

[2] See Gibbon (Decline and Fall, c. 59), who, with his usual acuteness, has seen where the question lay, more plainly than most writers.

of Lombardy soon divided him from the see of St. Peter. He set himself up as the direct enemy of the Church, appointed bishops as he chose, and levied taxes on the lands of the Holy See in Lombardy and elsewhere. He affected a zeal for apostolic poverty, and talked of reducing the bishops to the state of primitive times. St. Louis, an acute observer, and by no means a personal enemy of Frederic, saw clearly that he aimed at the absorption of the Church into the empire.[1] The plains of Lombardy were the battlefield on which this great struggle between the Church and the empire was fought. It was of vital interest to the court of Rome, that the Lombard league should subsist as a barrier between Germany and the Holy See. It was not, however, its interest that an open war should break out between the rival parties in the north. Until, therefore, the time when the breach between the Pope and the emperor was beyond any hope of healing, the court of Rome, though it supported the Lombard league, did its best to keep the peace.[2] When once, however, the scabbard was thrown away and the emperor was deposed, it animated them in every way in its power.

It is melancholy to watch this scene of desolation. It was a war of extermination waged by the Holy See against the house of Swabia. Doubtless Frederic deserved his deposition. By attempting to recover the absolute claim of the empire on Lombardy, he

[1] Quoted by Fleury, vol. xvii. p. 253.

[2] For a proof of these efforts see Raynaldus in ann. 1233, 36; 1235, 12; 1236, 2.

violated the peace of Constance, and what was more, he sinned against the peace of Europe; he deserved, therefore, to be deposed in the same sense as Napoleon deserved to be sent in exile to Saint Helena. But though there can be little doubt on which side justice lay, yet parties are so mixed and confused, that it is often difficult to recognise the old principles, even of the Church party, in matters of detail. Men wondered to see the court of Rome at one time endeavouring to prevent St. Louis from going on the Crusade, while at another it encouraged him;[1] at one time commuting vows of proceeding to the defence of the Holy Land, at another promising St. Louis not to do so.[2] While Gregory the Ninth had an army in his pay to oppose the emperor, called the army of the Church, Innocent the Fourth, on the other hand, disclaims the use of the secular arm.[3] And this was the most distressing feature of the contest; parties swayed to and fro, so that men lost their old landmarks, and knew not where they were. It shook the confidence of men thus to see the energies of the Holy See turned away from the Crusade to a struggle with the emperor. The money of the people of Europe, which had been grumblingly bestowed on the holy war, was still more unwillingly bestowed on a war of which they had not faith to comprehend the interest. It seemed

[1] Gregory the Ninth tried to stop the Crusaders, Matt. Par. in ann. 1240, and writes to St. Louis that a crusade against Frederic would be more meritorious, ep. 31, ap. Labbe. Conc. 13.

[2] Compare Raynaldus, 1247, 56; 1248, 13.

[3] Vide Innocent's letter to the chapter of Citeaux, Matt. Par. in ann. 1245.

to remove the Holy See from its position as the head of united Christendom in its contests with the followers of Mahomet. At the very time when the danger from the infidels was most imminent, the ruthless struggle went on; in vain did St. Louis intercede for peace;[1] it continued to rage even after Frederic's death, till the proud house of Hohenstauffen fell, as it deserved to do, before the Church, of which it was the direct foe, and peace was restored to Christendom by the accession of the good Rudolph of Hapsburg.

It seemed amidst all this perplexity as if Innocent's work was undone. The see of Peter, indeed, is founded on a rock, and can never fail; but its action on the nations may be indefinitely weakened at particular times, and it seemed likely to waste its energies in a war which was going on at its gates, instead of leading Christendom to a joint attack on the infidels. But the mission which Frederic had despised was taken up by St. Louis, in whom Innocent's ideal of the Christian knight and king was fully realised. When news arrived in France of the ravages of the Tartars, Blanche of Castile,[2] the queen-mother, came to him in tears, saying that a general destruction threatened the Church on account of the sins of Christendom. But Louis answered cheerfully, "Be of good cheer, mother; if these Tartars come, either we will drive them back to the Tartarean seats from which they

[1] St. Louis expostulated with Gregory on the excommunication, Muratori, Annali x. p. 354. He mediated also at various times. Matt. Par. in ann. 1246, 1249.

[2] Matt. Par. in ann. 1241.

come, or they will send us to heaven with the crown of martyrdom." This was the whole idea of Louis's Crusade. He offered up himself as a victim for Christendom, and went to die in Africa with the word Jerusalem on his lips. It would be a tempting thing to make of Louis a hero of romance, but the intense reality baffles all attempts at adornment. In the pages of the brave and religious, but matter-of-fact Joinville, he appears like a figure drawn by the most imaginative of painters. "By-and-by," says Joinville, in the midst of one of the battles in Egypt, "I saw the king coming on with all his host, which advanced with a fearful flourish of trumpets, clarionets, and horns. He stopped at an elevated part of the road, with all his men-at-arms, to give some order. And I promise you never saw I so fine a man; for he appeared above them all, from the shoulders upwards. He had on his head a helmet, which was gilt and very beautiful, and a sword of German steel in his hand." And further on he exclaims with rapture, "I assure you the good king did this day greater feats of arms than I have ever seen in all the battles in which I have ever been."[1] But with all this headlong bravery no Crusade proceeded on such settled principles as his. He went to Egypt with vessels laden with instruments of agriculture,[2] and with all the means of effecting a settlement.

[1] Joinville, 43, 45.

[2] Soldanus significavit ironice regi Francorum utquid ligones, tridentes, trahas, vomeres, aratra et alia culturæ necessaria in partes Orientales, quas non noverat, secum in navibus apportasset si eis uti non curaret, etc. Matt. Par. in ann. 1250.

He had, besides, this in view, the universal extension of Christ's kingdom as strongly as Innocent himself. One day during his captivity the Sultan saw him looking sad, and asked him the cause. Louis answered, "Because I have not won to Christ thy soul, for the love of which I left my sweet France and my sweetest mother." Then said the Sultan, "The men of the East thought that for the sake of our lands, not of our souls, thou didst undertake this pilgrimage." But Louis answered, "I call Almighty God to witness that I care not ever to go back to my realm of France, could I but win thy soul and those of the other infidels to Christ."[1] The home policy of Louis was as unworldly as the spirit which led him to assume the Cross; he even wished to give up Normandy to England, from mere scruple of conscience as to the impureness of his own claim. Yet with all this he was a man of considerable powers; he was the author of a code of laws, and France, under his rule, was the best governed country in Europe. Even Frederic feared him, and released some French bishops whom he kept in captivity, for the wrath of Louis was raised, and the Oriflamme would soon have been displayed before the gates of Cologne. Innocent's attempt to form Christendom into one polity, in which the Gospel should be the code of international law, had at least one martyr. Though the Crusade of Louis was a failure, yet we may believe that his long captivity, the insults and sufferings which he endured, and his death far from his realm of France, averted the wrath of

[1] Matt. Par. in ann. 1252.

God from Christendom, and stopped the progress of the infidels even more effectually than his undaunted courage.

But if Mahomedanism pressed upon Christendom from without, while its energies as a political body were paralysed by the religious indifferentism of its natural head, another evil, far more terrible and wide-spreading, was sapping the foundations of the faith of the nations; and this was a species of Mahometanism within the Church itself. The subject is far too wide to be treated at length in a meagre sketch like the present, but the thirteenth century is unintelligible without some notice of the heresies which infested the Church, and of the means which God put into the hands of His Church to heal the disease which, humanly speaking, threatened her existence.

It has been noticed elsewhere that the rationalistic movement of the last century was met by the spiritual writings of the Cistercians, and especially of St. Bernard. Another enemy now invaded the Church, far more systematic in its attacks, and more openly heretical. This was a direct and avowed Pantheism, which, from its affinity with the doctrines of the followers of Mahomet, shows marks both of an historical connection with them, and of the strange sympathy which often develops the same tendencies, at the same time at opposite ends of the world. In the beginning of the century there appear in the universities certain wild doctrines, of an Oriental character. It seems at first unaccountable how such notions should start up in the midst of Europe, as if some secret underground channel had floated

them on from Arabia. The forms which they take differ from each other, but all have the same Eastern features. All regard the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity as mere manifestations of the Deity, suited to particular ages; while some, with a more marked affinity to the doctrines of Islam, misinterpreted our Lord's promise concerning the coming of the Paraclete. The value of the Sacraments was denied, and, as a natural consequence, the relations between our Lord and His Church became in their hands a Pantheistic union of the soul to its Creator. And, strange as it may appear, these tenets had a direct connection with the study of Aristotle, seen as he was through the medium of Arabic commentators. As a natural consequence, therefore, the mass of the intellect of the day was infected with them, and their advocates proceeded on a system which marked their boldness and determination. It was discovered that a society for the propagation of these opinions was organised in the universities of Lombardy, Tuscany, and France; that they were bound together by oaths, and even aimed at spreading them among the people, by sending men under the disguise of pedlars to disseminate them.[1] Upwards and downwards the disease had spread; the University of Paris was obliged to limit the number of its doctors in theology to eight, because a great part of them had been corrupted by such heretical notions; and several persons of low rank were burned at Paris for declaring that the souls of all mankind were one, and that if the Apostle Peter was saved, so should they. When it is considered

[1] Bulæus, vol. iii. p. 35.

that the whole of the south of France was leavened with Manicheism, had set up an Albigensian pope, and was in arms to defend its heresy, the danger which thus menaced Christendom cannot be exaggerated.

It was very hard to know how to meet this influx of infidelity into the Church, for it was no less. The Church herself seemed to be pausing before she adopted a final course. Her policy in the last century had varied; first, St. Anselm's writings and example had encouraged the intellectual movement; afterwards St. Bernard opposed it. The representatives of the three schools of metaphysics [1] were at different times condemned; but this was on account of errors in theology, and no definite judgment was pronounced as to what was the legitimate use of philosophy in religious studies, though the tendency of the Church was undoubtedly to discourage it. These errors passed away with their authors, two of whom, indeed, retracted them; but the main question was still undecided, and the danger still continued. Peter Lombard, indeed, attempted to give a direction to the movement by drawing up a system of theology; but the Book of the Sentences, though by its universal reception as a text-book, it was the commencement of what may be called the official adoption of the scholastic system, was still far too positive for the unruly metaphysicians. Its terms came direct from the Fathers, not from Aristotle; and when a fresh

[1] Roscellinus was a Nominalist; Abelard, a Conceptualist; Gilbert, a Realist. Of Abelard, the most popular of the three, John of Salisbury says, that he had few followers in his time. Metalog. 2, 17.

importation of Aristotle's metaphysics came from Constantinople,[1] the students threw themselves upon them, without waiting for the sanction of the Church. The first news of the danger was conveyed by the appearance of a heresy with Aristotle for its text-book; and the Church, when it proceeded to condemn the heretic and to burn Aristotle's works, found that the evil had gone too far, and that the whole field of philosophy was already in the hands of the infidels. It seemed as if the world was too strong for the Church. Decree after decree came out, but each was less stringent than the last.

In this state of things, the first check to the infidel party was the spread of the Dominican Order. It planted itself boldly at the headquarters of the evil, in the midst of the Universities. The Dominican convent was a haven of refuge to the doctor who was wearied with the strife of tongues and the sharp encounter of wits, and still more to the youthful student, whose faith was in peril amidst the mass of opinions about him. At first, the Order was opposed to the introduction of the new school; afterwards, it seems to have gone with the stream; and at last God entrusted it with the mission of reconquering for the Church the field of philosophy which the world had well-nigh wrested

[1] Vide Natalis Alex. Hist. Eccl. vol. iii. cap. 3, art. 2. The general reading of Aristotle seems to have been put too early in scholastic lines. St. Anselm has no trace of it. John of Salisbury complains that few went beyond Boethius and Porphyry. Metalog. 2, 16. 2, 20. fin. He himself only knew the logical books as appears from his referring to the other books second hand. It is doubtful, indeed, whether the physics and metaphysics were known at all till the very end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

from her. How this was done will be best shown by a reference to the Saint who accomplished it. St. Thomas is the representative of the thirteenth century, as St. Bernard of the twelfth.

A more unpromising school than that from which Thomas Aquinas came could hardly be imagined; his ancestors, the counts of Aquinum, were an ancient and powerful Ghibelline family: they were vehement supporters of the Emperor Frederic the Second, and his uncle, one of that emperor's most faithful servants, was married to Anna, his natural daughter. Besides this, the young nobleman was sent to Frederic's university of Naples. He was thus thrown into the very midst of the new philosophy; every association of his life led him that way, as well as the bent of his mind and the genius of his country, which, as he notices himself, was the birthplace of Pythagoras and the cradle of philosophy. This was a dangerous taste in such an atmosphere as surrounded the university of Naples; and Thomas fled for refuge to the Dominican Order. His first initiation into Aristotle was in the solitary tower of the fortress of his family at Aquinum, where his brothers had confined him to withdraw him from the Order. His sisters, whose love brightened his prison, brought him a Bible, the Sentences of Peter Lombard, and the Organon, so that his first introduction to Aristotle was in the midst of sufferings, which gave a fresh reality to his religion and left him in little danger of infection. When he afterwards rejoined his Order and was sent to the convent of St. Jacques at Paris, it was in the silence of a heart dead to worldly passions

and filled with devotion to God, that the dumb ox of Sicily pondered the questions of the schools. He found Aristotle in the hands of Mahommedan commentators, such as Averrhoes, leading the most acute intellects of the day into infidelity. But they joined with their scepticism, the wildest Pantheism; while they disbelieved the Church, they put their faith in the most extravagant systems.

Nothing can be better calculated to show the dangers which beset the Church, than a notice of the special system which St. Thomas was called upon to oppose. Wild as were the opinions of the Averrhoists,[1] they were but the natural development of the previous agitation of the schools, ever since the disinterment of heathen philosophy had roused men to reflect on their own minds. To and fro, the schools had gone seeking rest for the sole of a philosophic foot. The object of all the various sects of schoolmen, Nominalists, Conceptualists, and Realists, was one and the same; their aim was to find a criterion by which they might determine how far the external world corresponds to our ideas of it. Their doubts on the subject were the natural result of their undue devotion to dialectics. Logic was with them omnipotent; it was a lever capable of moving the world, if it had but a fulcrum of good substantial certainty; but this was precisely what was wanting. Given the truth of the premisses, they found that they could prove anything; in other

[1] If the system of Averrhoes seems too absurd for confutation, it should be remembered that it reappeared at the time of the Reformation, when it was condemned by Leo the Tenth, fifth Lateran council, sess. 8. p. 842, Labbe. tom. 19.

words, they could prove nothing till they had previously ascertained the truth, or in modern language, the objectiveness of the ideas of the human mind. And their doubts on the subject even extended to the objects of sense. They soon discovered that while an external object makes a single and individual impression on the senses, the idea by which it appears before the mind is something very different. It is the nature of the human mind to form an idea of an object by passing a judgment upon it. The way in which we recognise its existence, and become conscious of it is by judging it. And we pronounce it to be very different[1] from the sensible impression which we felt upon our bodies; it has become in the mind a substance with quantity and quality; it has been placed in space and subjected to time. Besides which it has been compared with other things and separated from them. In one word, it has become an idea, the archetype of a class, which is to include a number of objects, and to be the intellectual medium through which we view them. Thus, while each object in the external world exists by itself, and is distinct from any other; in the mind, on the contrary, the whole universe is mapped out and classified. Nothing stands alone; no individual object is viewed by itself, but is recognised by certain marks according to which it is referred to an idea within our minds.

The question then which occupied the schools,

[1] Similitudo rei recipitur in intellectu secundum modum intellectus, et non secundum modum rei. Qu. 85. Art 5. Ad. 3. Universalia secundum quod universalia non sunt nisi in anima. Opusculum de sensu respectu part. et intel. resp. univ.

was, how far this classification was real; that is, had anything really corresponding to it in nature. The mind has no immediate connection with the objects without us; it forms its own judgment upon the impressions of sense according to its own rules. How far, the schoolmen asked, is this judgment objective, that is, a true representation of the reality. Accuracy of thought was no characteristic of the times; and so we find that the various theorists on the subject were not afraid of pushing their opinions as far as they would go. First came the bold Nominalist, who denied that the mind added anything whatever of its own to the impressions conveyed by the senses. He denied not only the validity but the existence of ideas, and affirmed that the words which express them were merely sounds uttered by the voice, raising in the mind by association the remembrance of a past sensation. With him there were no such things as qualities, and he professed himself utterly incapable of understanding what was meant by wisdom,[1] though he knew what was meant by a wise man; colour conveyed to him no idea, though he knew what was meant by a coloured horse. Opposed to him was the no less bold Realist, to whom the only reality was the idea, and that which corresponded to it out of the mind, one and the same immaterial essence running through a whole class, of which the forms assumed by the individual were but accidental

[1] Illi nostri temporis dialectici, qui non nisi flatum vocis putant esse universales substantias, cujus mens obscura est ad discernendum inter equum suum et colorem ejus—qui non queunt intelligere sapientiam hominis aliud quam animam. S. Anselm de fide trin. c. 2.

varieties. To him the sensations conveyed no knowledge, and were but indications of the existence of what the mind knew before by an innate idea.

These two schools, the Realist and the Nominalist, agreed at least in their belief of the objective nature of our knowledge of the external world, though the former derived it entirely from the mind, the latter entirely from the perceptions of sense. But after them came a school who set up for the proper mean between both; these were the Conceptualists,[1] quick-witted dialecticians, men of clear but limited vision, well fitted to destroy, and but little capable of building up. In their system ideas were but logical abstractions, arbitrary creations of the mind, and conventional forms of thought. Being conventional they could only be true as conceptions; they were genera and species, and nothing more, and had no foundation in external nature. And thus they tried to solve the difficulty by accepting it. But at this point, with one fell swoop, came the Arabian Averrhoes upon the unwary schoolmen, telling them: "We accept your conclusion; the ideas of the mind are a subjective classification, having no foundation in external nature. They are the creation of the intellect.[2] How is it, however, that all men use

[1] The Conceptualists are nearly what are now called Nominalists. John of Salisbury classes Abelard with the Nominalists, though he said that his followers disliked the name. De Nug. Cur. 7, 12, and Metalog. 2, 17.

[2] Intellectus agens facit universale; quod est unum in multis. Sed illud quod est causa unitatis, magis est unum, ergo intellectus agens est unus in omnibus. Summa Theol. 1, Qu. 79, Art. 5. Averrhoism is generally referred to Realism, but Conceptualism ought to have a portion of the credit, for it had also a tendency to Pantheism. When

one and the same classification? All have the same ideas of man; all know that an ox is, and a tree is not, an animal. The only way to account for this uniformity of such divisions of nature is the hypothesis that they are the creation not of many intellects, but of one." So Averrhoes boldly asserted that mankind had but one common intellect; and a large class of schoolmen took up the assertion with all its consequences. The ribald clerks[1] of the schools went about the country with the tonsure and ecclesiastical habit, teaching that after the dissolution of the body all distinction would be taken away, all souls would be merged into one, and consequently that all distinction of rewards and punishments would be impossible.

It was in the midst of this wild sea of opinion that St. Thomas found himself; the works of Averrhoes were the accredited comment on Aristotle, so that the Commentator was the name by which he was known, as Peter Lombard was the Master of the Sentences. To pull the Stagyrite down from his throne would have been impossible, if St. Thomas

the Nominalist argued Species esse quæ non sunt obnoxiæ Creatori, they paved the way for Avicenna, who said, Quod prima substantia separata creata a Deo creat aliam post se, et substantiam orbis et animam ejus, et quod substantia orbis creat materiam inferiorum corporum. 1 Qu. 45, 5. See John of Salisbury de nug. Cur. 2, 20.

[1] "Goliardæ" is the name given to these clerks in the life of St. Thomas published in the Bollandists. It has been supposed that this was a mistake for Garlandia, a district of Paris. It appears, however, that Goliardæ was a name given to the seditious wandering scholars of the day. Ducange connects it with the modern French "Gaillard," and quotes the Councils of Treves 1227, and of Sens 1239. Rocquefort, Glossaire de la langue Romane, connects it with Goiart, an old Provençal word. The Council of Sens calls them familia Goliæ.

had wished it; all that could be done was to reconquer his works for the Church by giving them a Christian sense. He was obliged to throw his own philosophy into the terms which were in use about him. The same questions occupy men in every age, but each period has its own way of viewing them, and its own language, suited to its particular cast of thought. So St. Thomas threw himself manfully into the mazy labyrinth of words, and fought the new sceptical school with their own weapons. As if he had been the boldest Conceptualist, he laid it down as an axiom that the mind is the creator of its own objects.[1] By its own powers, it forms its ideas of external things, and yet its ideas are no false representations of the external world, for the matter of these ideas is furnished from without by the senses. And this is the reason why St. Thomas insisted that the proper objects of the intellect are derived from the senses,[2] because the very limitation of the powers of man is a guarantee that his ideas are not fictions, but have their foundation in that which is external to him, and over which he has no control. It is true that man has his own way of viewing the outward world, and the angels of God see it differently; but there may be two methods of contemplating the same thing, yet neither need be false.[3] There is,

[1] Voces non significant ipsas species intelligibiles, sed ea quæ intellectus sibi format ad judicandum de rebus exterioribus. Qu. 85. Art. 2. Ad. 3.

[2] Intellectus humani proprium objectum est quidditas sive natura in materia corporali existens, et per hujusmodi naturas visibilium rerum etiam in invisibilum rerum aliqualem cognitionem ascendit. Qu. 84. 7.

[3] Est enim absque falsitate ut alius sit modus intelligentis in intelligendo quam modus rei in essendo. Qu. 85, Art. 1, Ad. 1.

therefore, no necessity to imagine an oneness of intellect such as Averrhoes held, in order to give an objective certainty to human knowledge. The intellect of man, that is, of each individual man, has its own powers, far inferior indeed to those of the blessed angels, and yet it must not be despised, for it is an image of the Everlasting Wisdom, and its ideas are shadows of the archetypal ideas[1] of the Divine mind, according to which the world was created. Limited as are its powers, by looking on itself it can form a notion of God, which, though feeble and inadequate, is nevertheless capable of being developed by the Church on earth, in order to its perfect development in the Saints in heaven. The Arab had perverted into Pantheism a great and real truth. There is, indeed, one great Light which lighteneth every man which cometh into the world;[2] but this does not interfere with the fact that the intellect of each man is a substantive thing, with its own powers and operations, just as the fact that each human being derives his existence from God does not take away from his individual personality, nor blend his being with that of his Creator.

It is evident from this, that the mode in which St. Thomas defends the Church from peril, is very different from that in which St. Bernard had fought her cause in the century before. St. Thomas is engaged in vindicating the human intellect, while

[1] Necesse est dicere quod anima humana omnia cognoscat in rationibus æternis per quarum participationem cognoscimus—non tamen objective sed causaliter. Qu. 84, 5.

[2] Intellectus separatus secundum nostræ fidei documenta est ipse Deus, qui est Creator animæ, unde ab ipso anima humana lumen intellectuale participat. Qu. 79, Art. 4.

St. Bernard's works tended, at least, to depreciate the exercise of it. The reason is, that the aspect of things was changed since the Church was saved from the influx of rationalism by hindering the progress of the scholastic movement. Men no longer identified faith with reason, as Abelard had done; they had now learnt quite sufficiently to separate them. For instance, Averrhoes had removed the intellect utterly out of the control of the conscience, and had introduced fatalism into the exercise of reason. The view taken by his disciples was, that faith and reason were utterly and irrevocably opposed. Men said that the doctrines of faith and the conclusions of reason were directly contradictory to each other; no one, however, was bound to choose between them; both might exist together in the mind, without the necessity of coming to any conclusion.[1] In other words, they believed nothing whatever; truth was, with them, a mere matter of words and of system. The categories were their creed, and they put their faith in the abstractions of their own mind.

In this state of things, when men had lost the first principles of their faith, it was useless to appeal to their religiousness, as St. Bernard had done. St. Thomas set himself to place faith and reason in right relation to each other. The intellect, he said, was a sacred gift of God, and could never really be contrary to the truth.[2] In its own sphere it was

[1] The Averrhoists said, "Per rationem concludo de necessitate, quod intellectus est unus numero; firmiter tamen teneo oppositum per fidem." St. Thomas de Unitate Intellectus.

[2] Quamvis veritas fidei Christianæ humanæ rationis capacitatem

perfect, but the field of faith was a vast system lying beyond the sphere of intellect. And this system was out of the jurisdiction of reason, so that it could pronounce nothing on the matter. If an unbeliever, therefore, attacked the faith, reason was of use in answering his objections, but it could do no more. If he persisted in unbelief, nothing could be done with him, for the believer and the infidel could then have no common ground to argue upon. But though the intellect is powerless as an organ for the discovery of the faith, yet it may serve as the expression of the doctrines conveyed by revelation. Faith no more excludes reason, than grace does nature;[1] and divine truths, when received into the human mind, must take the shape of human ideas and of human words. Thus St. Thomas conceived that the great truths of revelation might be expressed in terms of reason, that the faith might be systematised and presented as one vast whole, consisting of parts in harmony with each other. Theology is man's knowledge of God as He graciously reveals Himself, and, though it is divine in its origin, it may be treated as human, and be presented as a science, of which the different parts

excedat, hæc tamen quæ ratio naturaliter indita habet huic veritati contraria esse non possent. Contra Gen. 1. 7.

[1] Sacra doctrina disputat contra negantem sua principia argumentando quidem si adversarius aliquid concedat eorum quæ per divinam revelationem habentur. Si vero adversarius nihil credat eorum quæ divinitus revelantur non remanet amplius via ad probandum articulos fidei per rationes.—Utitur sacra doctrina ratione humana non ad probandam fidem sed ad manifestandum aliqua alia quæ traduntur in hac doctrina. Cum enim gratia non tollat naturam sed perficiat, oportet quod naturalis ratio subserviat fidei. Qu. 1, Art. 8.

appear as deductions one from another, though they were not so conveyed to the mind. In order to effect this, he took the terms of Aristotle's philosophy, partly because it was then taught in the schools, partly because it was true, in the sense in which the subject-matter is capable of truth, that is, it is a scientific arrangement of facts and a successful classification of the ideas of the human mind.

This, then, was the work which St. Thomas did for the Church, and the way in which he restored health to the schools of the thirteenth century. Any system is powerful, from the fact that it is a system. It has an air of reality, like a fortified place with continuous walls and bastions. And so even the absurdities of Averrhoes were believed, because they were clothed in scientific language. But when, in the Summa of St. Thomas, Christianity had appeared in all its awful oneness, the unreality of its pantheistic antagonist was visible at once.

The thirteenth century, then, after all these dangers and perplexities, closed with a signal triumph for Christianity; but it was not won without much pain and weariness. And in this imperfect sketch of the great struggle which was going on in Christendom, many a weary combat which was taking place in various parts of it has been left out. Hardly anything has been said of England, and, now that we have taken a view of the whole state of things on the Continent, we will proceed to show the part which England's Saints had in the mighty contest.

CHAPTER I

RICHARD IN THE SCHOOLS

AMONG the Saints of God are to be found men and women of every class and mode of life, soldiers and monks, kings and hermits, mothers of families and holy virgins. In that vast assembly are practical men as well as contemplative men. And the reason of this is that the character of Saints vary with the wants of the Church in every age. It has been observed that about the middle of the twelfth century, the leading churchmen of the day were generally men of business and legists. This became more marked as the state of things, commonly called the Middle Ages, became more systematised; and in the beginning of the thirteenth century, it is plain that the great men of the Church, the cardinals and bishops, were mostly chosen out of this class. Among these also God has His Saints; while the Cistercian movement spiritualised the Church by drawing men away from the world, and setting them up as lights upon a hill, the next century produced men who conquered the world while they remained in it. Of this class is the Saint whose life we are now to write.

In the little town of Wyche, on the banks of the quiet stream of the Salwarp, and near the borders of Fakenham Forest, dwelt two orphans, the sons

of Richard and Alicia de Wyche.[1] Their parents had died when they were young, and had left them heirs to the lands of Burford, in the neighbourhood. These boys and at least one sister were left under guardians who probably neglected their property, for when the eldest came of age he found that every thing had gone to ruin. He might have sunk down in despair had it not been for his younger brother. Richard, for such was his name, had, up to this time, been remarkable for a grave and serious character altogether above his years. He was a great bookworm, and when other children were at play he would be sitting down quietly at his studies. None as yet guessed how much energy there was in the boy; his brother, however, who came closer to him and saw that Richard was a child of unusual and spotless purity, loved and looked up to him, notwithstanding the apparent apathy of his character. And now that he entered on his waste and uncultivated lands, he naturally turned to his younger brother for advice and support. Richard bade him trust in God, who is the Father of the fatherless, and not only gave him words of comfort, but took the whole management of his brother's affairs into his hands. He had as yet shown no taste for farming, but he applied his mind vigorously to it,

[1] In Dallaway's Sussex, St. Richard's name is said to have been Chandos, because his brother is so called in his will. This, however, is very uncertain, for his brother is called Richard Bachdene in Bocking's life. Bocking also mentions a relation of the Saint, called Nicholas de Wyche. The History of Worcestershire calls him Burford, from the lands of that name held by his family, which are said still to exist. His sister is mentioned by him in his will. St. Richard was probably born in the year 1197.

and soon possessed himself of all the mysteries of agriculture. He set to work, and drained marshy pools and cleared away tangled weeds and thick brushwood, till all men acknowledged that the quiet student was a very practical farmer. The township of Wyche was celebrated for its plentiful salt-springs, and the lands around were covered with extensive plantations to supply fuel for the saltworks. A part of Richard's occupation was therefore, probably, the cutting down and carting wood to keep up the fires in the pans. But whatever his work was, he did it effectually and thoroughly.

All men praised him, and his brother regarded him with reverence as a superior being; but none of them knew the extent of the sacrifice which he was making. While he was handling the hoe or the axe in the field, his thoughts were very far from Wyche; from his childhood he had longed for knowledge, and he had desired to go to some of the universities, the fame and the importance of which were daily increasing. It was, therefore, a great self-denial to him, when he tied himself down to all the dry details of husbandry from affection to his brother. But while he was at this work, his character deepened with the anxieties and the business of life, and what was at first a thirst for knowledge became an earnest desire to devote himself to the glory of God. Our Lord rewarded him for his dutifulness to his elder brother by giving him a desire for Christian perfection. The Gospel, while it proclaims a reward to those who give up the endearments of home, has certainly not depreciated, but highly exalted, the ties of natural

affection; and, if we knew more of the souls of men, we might find that those Saints who have quitted their homes for the service of God, are precisely those whom God has rewarded by greater measures of His grace for their self-denying love in the bosom of their families. At least it was so in Richard's case; while his brother's fields were blooming beneath his care, he was secretly determining to leave all and to give himself up to a life of privation and of celibacy for Christ's sake.

He kept this resolution a profound secret, and it was only known at the time when he was forced to make a final choice between the world and Christ. So grateful was his brother for Richard's care, that he suddenly proposed to him to put the whole of the estates into his hands. At the same time, a noble and beautiful lady was offered to him in marriage. These two offers coming at the same time, at once determined him, and he told his brother that now the estates no longer needed his superintendence, and he would execute his long-cherished scheme of quitting all he loved on earth to prepare himself for the priesthood. "So," says an old writer, "he left his friends, his estates, and the maiden who might been his bride, and went to Oxford."

It may seem to have required but little self-denial to plant himself for a few years in a pleasant seat of learning. But Middle-Age Oxford is by no means the classic alma mater of modern time. Not one of its many colleges was then standing; only one of the many spires which now shoot up amongst its elms and chestnut-trees was then in existence.

If a man had placed himself in those days on one of the hills which overhang Oxford, and had looked down through an opening in the thick woods of the royal chace of Bagley, he would have seen, between that and the opposite forest-crowned hill of Shotover, a wide plain, intersected by the broad stream of the Isis. In one part cut up into numerous islands by the branches of the river, and by the channel of its tributary, the Cherwell, he would see the walls and fortifications of Oxford; on the side nearest him arose the dark Saxon mass of St. Frideswide's Abbey, with its high spire, and near it the quadrangle of Oseney Abbey, occupying one of the islands; not far off was another islet in St. Ebbe's parish, soon to be covered by the Dominican schools, while over all frowned the stout keep of St. George's castle. But if the warlike aspect of the city of Oxford, with the wild forest of Shotover and the mazy channels and deep pools of the river, where now are broad streets, mark off old Oxford from new, much more does the uproarious clerk of ancient times differ from our peaceful students. When the alarum of St. Martin's announced that the townsfolk were stirring, and the bell of St. Mary called the students to arms, then the scholar threw away his books and snatched up his cross-bow. The combat which ensued was not a riot, but a battle in the streets; while the gates of the city were guarded to prevent the men from the county from entering to help the town. Such was the hatred between the parties, that murders were at times committed from holiday wantonness; and a student passing on a May-day evening near Carfax, stood

a chance of loss of life from the rough handling of the townsmen. And then, amidst the many thousand students crowded into this narrow space, were many ribald clerks, as they were called, who lived in Oxford to indulge their idle and dissolute habits. There were riots not only with the town, but between the strong and hardy Northern students and their more refined Southern fellows. Besides which, there was not a party in the realm which had not its representatives at Oxford; and, according to an old proverb, the noise of a riot there, was the precursor of a gathering storm from one end of England to the other. King and Pope were alike rudely treated in this seditious little world. In the war of the barons, the university was against the king; but especially was Oxford the representative of the Anglican dislike of ultramontanes,[1] which was then breaking out. Although it had nothing to do with doctrine, and was only a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, yet it was a spark which was easily kindled to a flame. Witness the cardinal legate, who was saluted with cries of "Where is the usurer, the simoniacal thief!" and who escaped in disguise, and never drew bridle till he reached Abingdon. To finish the picture, the uproar of riotous banquets might be heard in the streets when some student passed his responsions;[2] and often might be met the noisy band of students, with banners, masks, and garlands, celebrating the feast-day of some favourite Saint.

[1] See the use of transmontanus and transalpinus in Matthew of Paris, in ann. 1229, p. 362, and 1238, p. 469.

[2] Bulæus, vol. 3, 82.

It was in this uproarious town that Richard now took up his abode; and it is refreshing to dwell upon him and to think of him as the representative of many a peaceful, religious clerk, in this vast assemblage of many nations. When first he went to Oxford, he might have appeared among his fellow-students as a man in easy circumstances. Our Lord, however, in order to crown him with that beatitude pronounced over the poor, suffered him to be deprived of his property. He had entrusted it to the care of a priest, who was faithless to his trust, and wasted what he possessed. Richard, however, contentedly took his place among the poor ones of the earth. If he ever felt resentment against the man who had injured him, it soon disappeared, for in after times he relieved the wants of this faithless priest. It must have been a sore trial to his patience, for henceforth he lived on the pittance which he could derive from his friends, and the lot of a poor scholar at Oxford was a very hard one. There were some noble and rich men among them; but by far the greater part lived on exhibitions,[1] or on the small pittance which they derived from their homes. As there were no colleges, they lived in scattered lodging-houses up and down the town. Some of these belonged to the religious houses in or near Oxford, but most of them were the property of the burghers; and the high price which they exacted for them was one of the many causes of heart-burning between the Town and Gown.[2] And wretched enough they were at the time of which we are writing, many of them

[1] Wood in ann. 1246.
[2] Wood in ann. 1214, 1216, 1235.

being merely thatched or wooden houses.[1] In the better sort of these a master, with a great many scholars, lived together, and the community was called a Hall; but it was in one of the poorest of them that Richard lived, with two other clerks as badly off as himself. They had but one gown[2] between them, so that when one of them had gone out to lecture, the other two sat at home in an under-garment, and could not go out till he returned. Their fare was of the coarsest kind; bread and a little wine and soup, formed their scanty meal; on highdays and holidays only had they either fish or meat. They were up in the morning before day-break at their books; and when the great bell of St. Mary's rung, they must away to the schools to lecture; at mid-day were the disputations; in the evening they repeated to their master the morning lecture. And then, when all was over, they lay down each on his hard pallet to take the student's hasty sleep. Truly the fruits of the tree of knowledge have ever been bitter to mankind; the labour of thought wears away the body and soul of the student. And if dimness of eye and paleness of cheek are the marks of the ambitious scholar in the comfortable rooms of an Oxford college, what must have been the sinking of heart with which the poor Middle-Age student returned in a winter's night to his cold chamber,

[1] It appears from Wood's Annals in ann. 1190, that many houses were built of stone in consequence of a fire; but, from a notice on the year 1235, that most of the houses in the city were still generally thatched.

[2] Cappa.

and laid his tired head on his hard pillow! Yet Richard afterwards used to look back with a sorrowing pleasure to this peaceful time, and to say that it was the happiest part of his life. There is, of course, something joyful, notwithstanding the labour of study, in the expansion of the faculties, in the perception of truth coming on the soul, not in the shape of a conclusion, but like a flash of light in a dark place. All this is, of course, a source of pleasure, but it is not enough to keep up a uniform cheerfulness. The details of science are dry and tasteless, and the mind soon flags, for discoveries do not break upon it every day, and excitement cools. Richard, however, was never weary; his spirits did not flag even amidst the privations and in all the humiliations which poverty brings with it. "Never would he, either by himself or his friends," says Bocking,[1] "petition for a benefice. And when his companions, or any others about him, talked about obtaining revenues and benefices, he used to tell them, 'Let us take no care for such matters; if we serve God faithfully, He will sufficiently provide for us. He whom we serve will reward us more than we deserve.' Even with that small pittance that was allowed him, he was always cheerful and happy, and cared so little about worldly things, that he let others manage even the small means which he possessed." He rejoiced in his poverty, because it reduced him to the condition of his Lord upon earth.

It is not known precisely to what master Richard applied for instruction. At that time, when the

[1] c. 5. ap. Boll. p. 297.

university system was so unformed, the students chose what master they would. When once a man had obtained his master's degree, he opened a school, and his success depended entirely on his popularity. Bachelors always endeavoured to obtain a large assembly of scholars to accompany them to their public exercises for their master's degree, and the promise of a dinner soon collected together a number of worthless and hungry students; but, unless the master was a man of merit, his honorary scholars soon quitted him, and his schools were often empty. Indeed, so great was the license, that many so-called students never went to any master at all, till at length a law was made[1] to force every scholar to put himself under a master within fifteen days after his arrival in Oxford, otherwise he should not be considered as a member of the university, nor be entitled to the privilege of exemption from secular authority, which was extended to all clerks, and which was the bait which attracted these varlets, as they are called, to Oxford. The schools were all private property, or else they belonged to various orders or religious houses, who either used them for the disputations of their own members, or let them out to others. Even the little nunnery of St. Mary Littlemore, which lay almost hidden in the fields near Oxford, derived a revenue from its schools; though, of course, the good abbess and the sisters had little enough to do with logic, or the decretals. At the time when Richard went to Oxford, a master was in repute there who had a great influence over his future life, and it is probable that he frequented

[1] Wood in ann. 1231.

his schools during his undergraduate life; this was the famous Grosseteste,[1] afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.

The time when Richard first came to Oxford was a critical period, for the scholastic method was beginning to gain ground there. It is curious to see how slowly the continental movement in philosophy crossed the channel. While Paris was convulsed by Abelard, Oxford was looking on in silence. Robert Pullen,[2] its great doctor at that time, wrote a compendium of theology, which, from the favour with which St. Bernard looked upon its author, evidently did not belong to the new school of teaching. One indication of a similar movement exists in the publication of a book, treating on the Holy Trinity in the scholastic method, in the first year of the 13th century, but it seems to have scandalised the Oxford schools. Again, Grosseteste was distinguished rather for his practical knowledge than for the speculative tendencies of his teaching.[3] He was fond of Greek learning, and his skill in physical science won him the reputation of a magician. Some years after he showed the bent of his mind by warning the university not to quit the ways of their ancestors for novel

[1] The time of Grosseteste's mastership in Oxford seems to have been about 1220, for it was then that the Franciscan schools were set up, in which he lectured, according to the Annals of Lanercost, ap. Ang. Sac.

[2] Not enough has been thought of this Robert, who was the first English cardinal. Cave says that he restored Oxford, which was ruined by scholastic theology; but every other author attributes its decay to the troubled state of England, which is much more likely. v. St. Bernard, Ep. 205, 362.

[3] Grosseteste is said to have commented on Aristotle's posterior analytics. It is not, however, the mere lecturing on Aristotle, but the application of his philosophy to theology, which characterised the new school of teaching. v. Huber. vol. 1. p. 69.

methods, and to teach theology by comments on the holy scriptures.[1] It was long before the practical and conservative mind of England got over its dread of the new philosophy. Besides which, it soon received a check from the arrival of certain strangers, who always exercised a material influence over the schools. In 1222, the Black Friars were first seen in Oxford,[2] and about the same time came their brethren the Grey Friars; and what was the primary effect of their coming may be seen from a story told of the first Franciscans, who set up a school on the banks of the Isis. It is said, that after they had been set up some years, brother Agnellus of Pisa, the Franciscan superior, came to visit them. The scholars got up a special disputation to honour their visitor, and the question proposed was on the existence of God. The Grey brother listened for some time, but at length he started up, and broke abruptly on the disputants. "Alas! fathers all, ignorant men are up," he said, "taking heaven by force; and men who had never learnt letters, love with the strictest bonds of charity the God in whom they firmly believe; meanwhile, the masters of this our school, brethren

[1] That Grosseteste refers to scholasticism is not evident till it is known that the name by which the followers of the old method were called was "Biblici," while the schoolmen were called "Sententiatores." The method of the old teachers was to comment on the Bible, and to prove all that they asserted by the authority of the Fathers. The schoolmen commented on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, and brought out the truth by disputation. The Book of the Sentences itself was the link between the two systems, as it consisted of a number of quotations from the Fathers, drawn up systematically. Bulæus, vol. 3. 657.

[2] Nic. Trivetus in ann. 1222, ap. d'Achery, Spicil. Wading Annals, vol. 1. 364.

who had vowed poverty, who every day feel the eye of God's providence upon them, are wrangling whether there be a God!" And so he ordered them to send for the books of the decretals, and henceforth to quit metaphysics and to take to canon law. And this action of the friar is the more significant, because canon law was precisely the refuge of the men who were frightened at the progress of the new philosophy. There was something definite and tangible in the distinct decrees of the canons, which suited the minds of practical men; and though the jealousy of English kings drove away its first professor, and though churchmen at times exclaimed against the detriment done to theology, yet the decretals kept their ground, and progressed so much that Law became a separate faculty. Nay, it was the cause that dogmatic theology became a faculty by itself; for, when one branch of theology was separated from arts, the other naturally followed.[1] Now, which side did Richard take in this struggle between the old and new theology? Though but few records are left of this part of his life, the course which his studies took indicates plainly enough the bent of his mind, for he finished by going to Bologna to study canon law. The facts recorded of this part of his life before he went to Italy,[2] comprising as it does six or seven years of painful

[1] Huber. vol. 1. p. 369.

[2] There are so few data for the chronology of St. Richard's life, that it is impossible to get beyond conjecture. He must have studied six years before he took his master's degree, as appears from Bulæus, 3, 81. After that he was bound to lecture two years more. Besides this, he remained for seven years at Bologna. If he came back to Oxford about 1235 (as is likely from his being chancellor about that time), he probably first entered the university about 1220.

struggles with poverty, are very few and scanty. It is only known that after some time spent at Oxford, as did most students who wished to perfect themselves, he went to Paris. There he took his bachelor's degree, but what master he assisted in his lectures cannot now be ascertained. He became a master at Paris, and then returned to Oxford, where he opened a school. Of this short sojourn in England, the only record which remains is an account of the manner in which God preserved his servant from imminent danger. He was one day at a feast given by a young master who had just taken his degree, when one of the servants came to say, that a man was without, wishing to speak to master Richard. His host went out and found a beautiful youth on horseback at the door, whom he courteously invited in, saying that he might speak to Richard at the banquet. The youth however refused, and said that the master must at once come out to him. Richard rose, and to his surprise, when he reached the door, saw no one whatever in the street; the youth had gone away. On returning to the feast he found all the guests in consternation, for in his absence a stone had fallen from the ceiling on the spot where he had been sitting. Richard's spotless life was already well known in Oxford, and it was always thought that God had sent his angel to deliver his servant.

For seven long years did Richard remain at Bologna; where he had constantly before him the blue outline of the Apennines instead of the woody tops of the low hills which bound the horizon of Oxford. This seems a long period, and it appears

a long way for an Englishman to go to learn law. But it was a part of the magnificent policy of the Popes to bind all Christendom together by one ecclesiastical code, or rather it was the natural result of that state of things in which Rome was the fountain of justice and the great court of appeal for the Church. The tendency to reduce to system what had before been floating custom, which had begun, as has been observed, in the middle of the last century, had gone on with all its advantages and all its inconveniences. Eugenius III. had ordered the decretals to be read at Bologna; Innocent III. himself was the greatest canonist of his time, and Peter of Benevento collected together his decrees by his order. About the very time that Richard was on the point of quitting Italy, Gregory IX. employed St. Raymond of Pennafort[1] to draw up the decretals, and to complete Gratian's imperfect books. It was the policy of the Popes to encourage the canon law; for by the side of the law of the Church, partly its rival, partly its model, was rising up the formidable jus Cæsareum, the civil law of the empire.[2] Bologna was thus a most important place, for both popes and emperors sent their laws and decretals thither[3] as it were to register them, that they might there be taught to the crowds of students who flocked thither from all parts of Europe. Frederic II. found that Bologna was too much in the hands of the Church for his purpose,

[1] According to Tiraboschi, vol. 4, 304, in 1234.

[2] The decretals were drawn up in five books to imitate the Pandects. Tiraboschi, vol. 4, 301.

[3] Tiraboschi, 4, 55.

and endeavoured to transfer the university to Naples, but he utterly failed.

Richard therefore found himself in a most important part of the Christian world, when he was at Bologna. It numbered ten thousand students in its university, and the most celebrated professors were there. It was by no means, however, a peaceful place at the time when Richard was at his studies. Bologna was the life and soul of the league against the emperor. The war-chariot of the Bolognese was often out, and its bravest drawn up about it, in its wars with its Ghibelline neighbour, Modena. Frederic was preparing a war with Italy, and the Bolognese were arming themselves to meet him, and new-modelling their militia.[1] While Richard was there also, he had an opportunity of watching the power of the new Order of Dominican friars. John of Vicenza was there, the representative of peace amongst the deadly feuds of Italy. Bologna was his headquarters, and its citizens followed him with the cross and with banners on his mission of peace. He went about reconciling enemies to each other, and at length on the banks of the Adige he preached to an innumerable multitude, on a stated day; and such was his eloquence that Guelph and Ghibelline threw themselves into each other's arms, and a peace was concluded by the rival cities throughout Lombardy. Alas! it did not last long, and before Richard had left Italy, blood had been shed again. Still, throughout the whole of the contest the law studies went on, and Richard could go on reading the Pandects

[1] Dulcinus, b. 5, ap. Burmanni thesaur. tom. 12.

with the din of arms about his ears. Law had become too necessary to be interrupted. If any one had a cause at Rome, he must have lawyers to plead it. A Bolognese lawyer was not long before employed against a king of England. A knowledge of canon law was the way to wealth and honour. The stately maxims of ecclesiastical law suited well the calm and serious mind of Richard. It was no dry study, for canon law was the embodying of the practical principles of Christianity, and showed at one view the whole of the working and organisation of the Holy Catholic Church. Richard made such progress that his master, who was old and infirm, entrusted to him the instruction of his pupils. Besides this, he won the heart of the old man, who offered to give him his daughter in marriage, and to make him his heir. Richard might have been pardoned, if he hesitated, for it seemed ungrateful to reject his master's kindness; but he remembered that his vocation was to be a priest, and he fled from the temptation, and quitted Bologna.

He returned to England about the year 1135, and on his reappearance at Oxford was received with open arms, as befitted a doctor in canon law; and shortly afterwards he was called upon to fill the office of chancellor of the university. His functions were most important; first he had the power of granting degrees. In doing this, he was of course necessarily dependent on the report of the masters, as to the persons on whom he conferred them. With the bachelors he probably had little to do, for the baccalaureat was hardly as yet

a degree. A bachelor was little more than a probationer, who was teaching in the school of a master in order to be approved for the higher degree. On approval, he was presented to the chancellor by the master under whom he served. Still the university had not so far grown into a system as to supersede the chancellor's personal inquiry into the candidate's qualifications; and, as few scholars actually proceeded to the degree, the number would not be too large to render it impossible. Besides which, there were as yet no colleges to be answerable to the chancellor for the character of the scholar, so that his function in this respect was the highest in Oxford. Secondly, the chancellor was the judge of the university. He punished all riotous scholars, and the king now and then would lend him his prison to confine the delinquents. His police was at this time very imperfect, so that a great deal more depended on his personal character than on the physical force of the university.[1] Lastly, he was the great law adviser of the university; all contracts passed through his hands, and he kept the seal of the university, so that the whole of the business of Oxford, as it may be called, required his presence. In early times, when rights are undefined and there are few precedents, deeds well signed and sealed, though but bits of parchment, are very important things. Witness the trembling of the monks when a king bade them send in their charters for confirmation; it was a sure way of extracting money

[1] v. Wood's Fasti in ann. 1231.

from them.[1] Hence the growing importance of the officer who could write out such deeds, and still more of him who kept the seal, which put the finishing stroke to the transaction. In this capacity the chancellor was often brought in contact with the town, as the chief legal authority of the university.

The multiplicity of Richard's functions was such that his place was no sinecure. And the labour of it was increased from the fact that as Oxford was not an episcopal city, he was much more independent than the functionaries who corresponded to him at Paris. His functions were there divided between the chancellor of the bishop and the chancellor of the abbey of St. Genevieve, officers not appointed by the university, and often opposed to it. But in Oxford the masters had so much to do with the appointment of their chancellor that Richard is said to have been elected by them.[2] His office had not grown out of the chancellor of the diocese; and though he was confirmed by the bishop of Lincoln, the masters had the right of electing him.

The precise time[3] when Richard left Oxford is not known, but he was soon called away to a higher sphere. Two prelates at the same time had thoughts of making him their chancellor. His old master, Robert Grosseteste, was now bishop of Lincoln, and

[1] Matt. Par. in ann. 1227.

[2] Chronicle of Wikes in ann. 1288.

[3] It appears from Wood, that the chancellors for the years 1235-6-7 are not known; it was, therefore, during one of these that St. Richard exercised the office. That it was not in 1242 is evident, for he must have been St. Edmund's chancellor long before that.

therefore diocesan of Oxford. To him had belonged the confirmation of his election to the chancellorship of the university, and he kept his eye on Richard, and when the chancellorship of his diocese fell vacant determined to give him the appointment. Before he could do so, however, St. Edmund, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had already made him his chancellor. How many things in this life are decided by little differences of time and place! It looks like a lucky chance that the archbishop should have forestalled the bishop in Richard's appointment, and yet it exercised an influence on him for all eternity. If he had been thrown in contact with the courageous but rough-spoken Grosseteste, his character would have been cast in a different mould from that which it received from the saintly and no less courageous Edmund.

CHAPTER II

RICHARD IN EXILE

RICHARD'S new office, though it made him an ecclesiastic, did not involve more than some of the minor Orders. It is easy to describe Richard's employment in a few words. Strangely enough he had reversed the order of things, and had now taken the office out of which his former employment of chancellor at Oxford had grown. The chancellor of the diocese issued licenses for teaching, and appointed the master of the cathedral school; and from this function it was that the university chancellors derived the right of granting degrees; and though, as Oxford was not a cathedral town, that officer was not identical with the diocesan chancellor, still it was by a sort of analogy that the bishop's functions of appointing teachers to the schools of the diocese were vested in him. Besides his power of granting licenses, Richard in his new capacity had the care of the cathedral library. His highest functions[1] were, however, that of keeper of the episcopal seal, and of judge of the ecclesiastical court. Originally a chancellor had been a mere notary, but it is easy

[1] St. Richard seems to have been more than the chancellor of the chapter described in the Lichfield statutes. He is called Cancellarius curiæ, Chancellor of the Archbishop's Court.

to see how, when business multiplied, the officer who drew out the instruments by which the bishop's pleasure was made known or his license granted, would become in effect the dispenser of his powers. As the bishop's powers are laid down by certain determinate forms and are administered through law, the chancellor must be a learned canonist and civilian. In this way all things relating to wills and contracts come before him judicially. All letters demissory; resignations of benefices; oaths tendered to new incumbents; licenses to preach and hear confessions; all special powers granted to nunneries; in a word, all that related to episcopal jurisdiction passed through his hands.[1] Another office, which belonged rather to secular chancellors, but which probably came into Richard's functions, was to assist in legislation as well as in the administration of the law.[2] The chancellor of the empire, for instance, took care that the emperor's constitutions and rescripts were consistent with themselves and with the principles of law; and, doubtless, Richard assisted St. Edmund in framing the constitutions which are called after his name. In fact, like all other chancellors, he was to be the principal authority in all legal matters, and to assist his superior's decisions by his learning.

[1] Vide Fifth Council of Milan, 14, 15, which, though of no authority for the times here described, gives a good notion of the duties of an ecclesiastical chancellor.

[2] Bulæus's description of a chancellor is an officer cujus eæ sunt primæ partes videre ut nulla Principis constitutio, nulla sanctio, etc., non e republica atque etiam e dignitate reipublicæ, principalique exeant. Vide Van Espen, part i. tit. 23. Hic est qui leges cancellat iniquas et mandata pii principis æqua facit, says John of Salisbury.

This is but a summary description of Richard's multifarious duties; but it would be possible to dwell longer upon them without giving a just idea of this part of his life. They were but the external part of it, for he became not only the chancellor, but the intimate friend of St. Edmund. His life is, at this time, merged in that of the Saint; and nothing is told of him but that he stood by the illustrious sufferer to the last. It seems almost a rule of God's Providence, that Saints should be sent out in pairs to support each other in this bad world, as the disciples were sent out two and two at the first. James and John, Peter and Andrew, Martha and Mary, appear together; and when the ties of earthly relationship are suspended, and brothers are to meet no more on this side the grave, then often their place is supplied in another way, as Peter had Mark, and Paul had Luke for a companion. But this is especially the case in those Saints whose work lies in the world; and never did any want help more than St. Edmund. Alas! for the gentle theologian when he was set up on high on the archiepiscopal seat of Canterbury. It was nothing to have bold barons, rough, iron-clad men to contend with; but when there were sharp-witted canonists meeting him at every turn, and as often as he talked in eloquent words of the liberties and the wrongs of the Church of Christ, blocking him up with a canon or a scrap from the Pandects, he much wanted Richard at his elbow to parry the lawyer's thrusts with the same bright sharp weapons. And when St. Edmund crossed the Alps, and lo! there were his quick opponents, not running straight forward, but doubling

and turning to get the better of him at the court of Rome; right glad was he of a letter from his faithful chancellor at home, to cheer him up and to let him know that he had a friend at Canterbury to look after his interests in his absence. After all, in such a contest, Richard's friendship was even more valuable than his legal knowledge. It was not the bestial hyena-like rage of William Rufus, nor was it the fury of Henry, crafty and cruel as the spotted panther, that he had to oppose; these would have been noble opponents compared to the weak-minded, vacillating Henry. And then, above all, there was the miserable expectation of hope deferred; the waiting in vain for the tardy decisions from Rome; the coldness of the legate; and the faint-heartedness of men high in authority. Other men had their work appointed them in the midst of terrible storms; but St. Edmund had to toil on, like a traveller who faces the keen and cutting east wind, or the inexorable down-pouring dropping of November's rain. In all this Richard was by his side, clasping his hand tight and cheering him on in this dull, black winter. "In all things," says Ralph Bocking, "Richard had an eye to the peace and quiet of his lord and archbishop, who he knew had chosen out and loved the good part of Mary. The archbishop inwardly rejoiced that by the discreet fondness and fond discretion of his chancellor, he was saved from the tumult of outward business; the chancellor was glad to be taught by the holiness and heavenly conversation of his lord. Each leaned upon the other, the holy on the holy; master on disciple; disciple on master; father on son; son on father.

To one who looked on them religiously, they seemed like the two cherubims of glory, stretching over the ark of the Lord, that is, the Church of Canterbury, each with his holy eye gazing intently on the other, touching each other with wings of mutual love; their faces, that is, their wills, ever turned to the Seat of propitiation, to Him who is the propitiation for our sins."

And when the struggle was over, and the Saint, wearied out with care and anxiety, took refuge in Pontigny, Richard followed him faithfully. At last the blessed Edmund died, and Richard turned away from Pontigny with a feeling of desolation and a sinking of the heart. "Orphan of such a father," says his historian, "he would perchance have transgressed the bounds of religious grief, if he had not feared to murmur against the Providence of God, and if he had not believed that his venerable father had exchanged this wretched life for an immortal state of happiness." The death of his friend had left a sad blank in his existence; for his whole life had been wrapped up in him for many years. His eye had ever been fixed on him to anticipate his least wishes before he uttered them, and his ears had ever been open to catch every word that fell from his lips. There was even a melancholy pleasure in smoothing his pillow in his sickness; but now that he was gone, there seemed to be nothing left for him to do upon earth.

He was, however, mistaken; there were still many years of a weary pilgrimage to go through before he was called away. By degrees the violence of his grief wore off, but it became a deep-seated principle

in his soul. There are some sorrows which alter and transfuse the whole man, as a furnace changes the substances which pass through it. Henceforth his life was one long remembrance of St. Edmund. Resignation came to him in the memory of those words, among the last that the Saint had uttered, "Thy will be done." He thought of the Saint's affection for him, and of that clause in his will by which it appeared that Richard was in his last earthly thoughts, "We leave our cup to our beloved chancellor, whom we have long held in our heart." And then he thought that one who had been privileged to come so close to a great Saint had an account to render for his use of the talent. He set himself therefore to imitate the model which had thus come before him. When he recollected the angelic contemplation of the Saint and his intense devotion in the midst of his wearing cares, he bethought himself that there was something better to be learned than canon and civil law, so he betook himself to a Dominican convent at Orleans to study theology.

He here found himself in an atmosphere very different from that in which he had lived at Oxford or Bologna. It was different even from that of Pontigny. Farming in all its branches was the order of the day among the Cistercians; and if they quitted the abbey gates, it was on horseback, on their way to some grange belonging to the monastery; there were granaries and stables in plenty, for the monks lived on the produce of their farms. But among the Black Friars, those who issued from the house, went forth on foot to preach

in the open air at the foot of a cross in some lonely, out-lying parish, or else in the cathedral of some town which contained a university. Some even might be seen taking their departure for distant lands to preach the gospel to the Saracen or the Tartar. The brethren possessed no lands, and laid up no more corn than was necessary for their present consumption. Instead of the hoe, the plough, and the reaping-hook, the tools of the Dominican were, the pen, the ink-horn, and the copy-book, the books of the Sentences, and the Bible with glosses. In the school of the novices were going on Latin grammar and logic, and the sound of disputations might be heard in the cloister. This was all very unlike the houses of St. Bernard; but the needs of the Church had changed, and the Dominican had stopped up the gap left by the Cistercian. The two Orders seemed to touch on Albigensian ground; and St. Dominic stepped into the breach in which the body of St. Peter of Castelnau had fallen. But the spiritual and inward life of the two Orders was the same. St. Bernard's book on "the love of God,"[1] and on "the Steps of Pride," lay side by side with Peter Lombard in the library. "The novices were warned never to be so eager for knowledge as to neglect those things which pertain to religion, virtue, and charity. If strangers come to mingle in the disputations, they are not to be rudely set down,[2] and care is to be taken not to offend them. There was the same love for meditation in both Orders. At every turn of his busy life,[3] whether

[1] Brockie, vol. iv. p. 164. [2] Brockie, vol. iii. p. 173.
[3] Brockie, p. 165.

trudging along the road in his vocation as preacher, or walking in his black mantle in the convent garden; whether on his knees in the church of his house at home, or in some distant land with Turks and heathens about him; the friar was to be ever meditating on the great mysteries of the faith. The character which the Order aimed at forming in the Dominican was the same as is pictured in the books of St. Bernard and St. Aelred. "Novices are to be instructed," says Humbert, the fourth master, "that they be not anxious to see visions and to work miracles, for these profit little to salvation, and men are often deceived in such things. But let them rather look to doing good deeds, which profit to salvation. Again, if they have not those heavenly consolations which they hear that others have, let them not be downcast, but be assured that our Father, who looks solely to the uprightness of the will, sometimes withdraws these for our good, in His loving-kindness."[1]

This, then, was the sort of community into which Richard retired after St. Edmund's death. Orleans was a university and an important one, for it was from thence that Cambridge derived its first professor of Aristotle's philosophy; and Orleans received all the learning of Paris in the voluntary secession of the masters and scholars in 1229. Richard had, however, little to do with the university; he did not want a degree, for a doctor in canon and civil law in Bologna had no need of graduating at Orleans. What he wanted was to

[1] Brockie, p. 165.

be fitted for the duties of the priesthood, to receiving which his former employments had been an obstacle. What was his position in the Dominican convent does not quite appear, for he does not seem as yet to have formed a resolution of entering the Order. It is, however, probable that strangers were allowed to live in the houses of the friars, without being members of the community. The purposes for which the Order were instituted naturally brought with them great modifications of the ancient monastic system. The brethren were to go forth and make inroads into the territory of the world carrying the fiery cross with them, and gathering all men into Christ's army; while the older Orders set up the cross on high as a distant beacon, and a light upon a hill. Thus the Dominican convent was more like the headquarters of a soldier, whose home is everywhere; while to the Cistercian the cloister was his home. In the same way the house of the Black Friar was planted in the midst of a town, while the Cistercian sat down in a secluded valley or a wild forest. The Dominican house was a place of learning; and when any famous doctor took the habit of the Order, students flocked eagerly to the schools of the convent to hear him. From all this resulted a greater mixture with the world than would have been allowed in other Orders; and the rule seems to have more regulations than are common in monastic constitutions for the entertainment of strangers.[1] Especial mention is made of those guests "who are so familiar as to be con-

[1] Vide Acta selecta cap. gen. ap. Martenne, Thesaurus, vol. iv. p. 1679, 20.

sidered in the light of brethren," and it was probably amongst these that Richard was received into the house.[1]

Never in his life did Richard find so much peace as at this period. Orleans was a turbulent place as well as other universities, and not long before a dissolute scholar had raised a dreadful riot in its streets; but the noise of the world died away before it reached the peaceful house of the Dominicans. Lowly and poor as were their convents and churches, in some few respects they relaxed the stern simplicity of the first Cistercian. The crucifixes were to be of painted wood, and no jewels were to be seen about the altar, but the chalice might be of gold,[2] and the priest for the week might wear a cope of silk, and the windows were to have a cross upon them. The garden was filled with red and white roses for the decoration of the altar, and the trees were disposed with an eye to beauty.[3] The shrubs were placed in long, regular alleys, so that every part of the garden was pervious to sight, and no thick shade was allowed where the brethren could steal from their companions. Here Richard could walk or sit under the trees watching the grave, silent figures of the friars in their white tunics and scapulars, and large black mantles without sleeves; or else he might obtain leave to speak to some brother in the parlour, for the brethren

[1] Brockie, 185, c. 28, circa hospites extraneos, circa mensam extraordinariam, c. 22.

[2] Martenne, Thesaurus, vol. iv. 1677, 1680.

[3] Ut recreationem ex decore faciant. de off. ord. p. 189, c. 35.

might go thither for a time to relieve weariness and to get recreation.[1]

The mode of Dominican teaching at the time that Richard went to Orleans was hardly as it was when he first knew them and their fellow-workers, the Grey Friars, at Oxford. It was still in progress and undergoing a change. St. Dominic had evidently been at first opposed to the scholastic movement. In 1221[2] he addressed a letter to his disciples, ordering them "to follow the divinely inspired scriptures, and ever in their studies to give their attention to what was useful, and to avoid curious questions." Again, it is said that he made little of the inventions of philosophy. A very few years, however, after the death of the Saint, John of St. Giles, a great schoolman and Parisian doctor, was won over to the Order; and the concourse of people who flocked to the convent of St. James, at Paris, obliged him to continue his public lectures. He had commented on the book of the Sentences, and followed the scholastic method, so that by a natural consequence of events, the new mode of teaching was admitted into the Dominican schools. Both methods subsisted amicably together for a long time, and the same person often gave lectures both on the Holy Scriptures and on the Sentences. Richard Fishacre[3] was lecturing on the Sentences, at Oxford, about the same time that Hugh of St. Cher was distinguished as a commentator at Paris. The schools were as yet in a fluctuating state, and St. Thomas

[1] De off. ord. 5 c. locutorium and Const. dist. 1. 12.

[2] Natalis Alex. Eccl. Hist. 7. 229.

[3] Trivet in ann. 1240, 1243.

had not yet appeared; so that the Dominicans, though many a distinguished schoolman had been converted by the burning words of their preachers, had not yet fulfilled their mission of fixing the doctrine of the schools on the basis of authority. About the very time when Richard took refuge at Orleans, disputations on strangely abstruse questions were carried on in the schools, so that the Bishop of Paris was obliged to stop the discussion of them,[1] by condemning all who took the wrong side in the dispute. In this unsettled state of the schools, it is not wonderful that Richard followed the old method of theological teaching. The practical bent of his mind led him away from the speculative theology of the schools; and the friar who held the doctor's chair at Orleans was one who lectured on the text of the Holy Scripture, so that here he heard lectures on nearly all the sacred books, illustrated by comments from the Fathers of the Church. In this way the vast depths of the word of God were opened to him, as far as it can be mastered by man; and the great mysteries of the faith came before him as they shine through the dark words of the Holy Scriptures, like stars appearing one by one in the firmament, not in the seemly order of a system, as they were afterwards arranged by the

[1] Matthew Paris says that the disputes on these points which were condemned were held by the Dominicans; and it is remarkable that about the same time the general chapter of the Order commands certain condemned propositions to be erased out of the quaterni used in their schools. These quaterni were note books used by the students in which, probably, were written the subjects for disputation. It appears, then, that these propositions were not affirmed, but used as subjects for exercises. Vide Martenne, Inst. cap. gen. in. ann. 1243.

Angelic or Seraphic doctor. Not but that many a term which would now be called scholastic, was used by the good Friar in his lectures, for he could not make extracts from St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, and St. Augustine, without stumbling on many instances of that magnificent phraseology in which the Church has delivered her idea of the faith. The book of the Sentences was in Richard's library;[1] and his theology was not of that misty sort which treats as scholastic controversy all that gives to the august edifice of revealed truth the well-defined outline which is too stern for most men. The definitions of canon law had already taught him that the principles of the Church were not mere subjects of disputation in the schools, but substantive and living things, which were in action about him. Now the whole of the creed of the Church was brought before him as the key to the Holy Scriptures; and he saw that the key was the right one, from the prompt way in which it unlocked the sacred treasures of those inspired books.

How long Richard remained at Orleans does not appear; it could not have been more than two or three years.[2] It was long enough, however, to enable him to receive ordination at the hands of William de Bussi, the Bishop of Orleans. The image of his beloved St. Edmund was present to his mind when he received the tremendous power of the priesthood; and he begged of the bishop to allow him to build an oratory in honour of that Saint, and there he used to offer up the holy

[1] This appears from his will, published in Dallaway's Sussex.

[2] There is a letter of his dated Orleans, April 20, 1242.

Sacrifice of the mass. The awfulness of the charge committed to him pressed upon his soul, and he henceforth wore coarse and humble garments, and began to crucify his flesh, and to subdue it to his soul, by rigid austerities. He had hitherto been obliged to appear in the world as a great man, as befitted the Chancellor of Canterbury; but now he was reduced to cast in his lot with the poor ones of the earth, and to be of those who enter heaven by force. So severe were the mortifications that he used, that his health would have sunk under them, had he not reduced them at the remonstrances of his friends. Why he quitted Orleans does not appear, but the next situation in which we find him, is as a parish priest in England.[1]

[1] It appears incidentally that he held the prebend of Dale, for Bocking relates the resignation with which he bore the news of the fraud of the man to whose care he had committed his property there. This seems to be the prebend of Deal which was attached to the priory of St. Martin's at Dover, but which at that time was in the gift of the archbishop.

CHAPTER III

THE ELECTION

RICHARD hoped to bury himself in his parish, and to spend the rest of his days in comforting the sick and needy, and in ministering to the spiritual wants of his flock. But there was to be no rest for him in miserable, distracted England. He had not been long in his native land when Archbishop Boniface, St. Edmund's successor, called upon him to resume his functions as chancellor. Richard obeyed, but before doing so, he determined to preclude the possibility of his continuing under the yoke to his life's end, by making a vow to join the Order of his old friends, the Dominicans. His wish was to strip himself of all things for Christ's sake, to have no home, and to go about the world at the beck of his superior, carrying the Gospel into the heart of large towns, catechising the ignorant poor, or it may be seeking martyrdom among the Turks. But God, who knows the talents which He himself has given to His servants, reserved him for a much more weary life. In 1244, after he had again appeared as chancellor in the archbishop's court, news reached him that he had been elected to the see of Chichester. No one in the world doubted the sincerity of the reluctance with which he accepted it, for it was one

of those places which are not desirable pieces of preferment. It placed him in the very front of a battle in which St. Edmund had died, broken-hearted. The circumstances which made the episcopal throne of Chichester so uncomfortable, must be given as briefly as is consistent with clearness.

Not the least portion of the slow martyrdom which the sainted archbishop had undergone, was the grief of seeing the sees of England so long lie vacant, from the interference of the king with the liberty of election. Since the blood of St. Thomas had been shed at Canterbury, the elections of bishops had been restored to the cathedral chapters. It is true that this was often a nominal restoration, by the fault of those who ought to have defended the Church. Soon after the death of St. Thomas, on one[1] occasion, Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, was heard to say that he had rather die than yield up one of the rights of the Church to the king. Hugh de Lacy, however, who was standing by, said, "There will be no need of dying, my lord. The king could not, if he wished it, find a clown in all the realm who would lay hands upon thee. The war is over if ye but keep what the martyr won." His successors did not keep it as they ought; but St. Thomas's work was not, by any means lost; for he established for ever as a principle that interference with the freedom of elections was a usurpation. Accordingly, the chapters had the choice of bishops, which ever since the conquest had belonged to the king and the bishops.[2] But the world only changed

[1] Giraldus Camb. ap. Wharton, Ang. Sac. 2, 430.
[2] Thomassin, 2 lib. 2. 34, 5, 8.

its tactics ; there were numberless ways of frightening monks, which the kings of England duly put in practice. Henry the Third's methods were not less efficacious, though less savage than those of his ancestors. Not to have granted the chapter leave to elect would have raised a storm about his ears[1] which he had not the courage to abide ; besides which he was not irreligious, though he was weak and vacillating. His object in impeding the elections of bishops seems to have been less to keep the revenues in his hands than to have the means of rewarding his court-favourites, though of course the escheats[2] of rich archbishopricks and bishopricks were a tempting spoil for a profuse and needy monarch. His policy, therefore, was to cajole or to worry the chapters into receiving his nominees.[3] He had been

[1] Rex. licet diu recalcitraret, justæ postulationi (electionis) non potuit contradicere. Matth. Par. in ann. 1238.

[2] Matth. Par. p. 581. in. ann. 1242.

[3] It may be well to put together briefly an account of the principal elections of the time. In 1226 Richard de Marisco, Bishop of Durham, died, and William, Prior of Worcester, was elected in his place ; but the election was reversed at Rome at the king's instance in 1228, and Richard Poore, Bishop of Salisbury, was translated to Durham. Matt. Par. pp. 332, 344. On his death, in 1237, the monks elect Thomas their Prior, who was opposed by Henry. After a long law-suit at Rome, Thomas resigned his claim in 1240 ; and in 1241 was Nicholas Fareham confirmed, pp. 438, 541, 550. In 1238, Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, died, and Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, was elected, which election the king, per legistas Romipetas cassari procuravit, 1239. The king's uncle is said to have obtained a promise of the see from the Pope, but he died 1239. William de Raley, Bishop of Norwich, was elected 1240, Ang. Sac. 1, p. 307, but owing to the king's opposition, not confirmed till 1243. Matt. Par. 473, 517, 605. In 1241, the see of Coventry fell vacant, and the Abbot of Evesham was forced on the convent, but not confirmed. On his death, William the precentor was elected 1243. Wearied out with a law-suit he

known to declare that if they refused, the see should remain vacant for years. An expensive and weary law-suit at Rome was sure to empty the treasury of a refractory chapter, and the peculiar circumstances of the time rendered it very likely that the royal legists would gain the day. So much had the aspect of parties changed in England, that there was then a prejudice at Rome in favour of the king's demands. This was partly the result of John's submission to the Holy See, partly of the present difficulties with which the Popes were surrounded in their contest with the emperor. The legate and the king were allied, because each was necessary to the other, and though Pope Innocent once expressly recalled Otto on account of his exactions, he was preserved in his authority at the request of the king, who was uneasy that he could not contend with his barons single-handed. This ill-omened connection, as men said at the time,[1] between wolf and shepherd, was not, however, to last long. Tedious as were these delays in the administration of justice, and miserable as were the results of the long vacancy of the sees, they were but the natural effects which must follow every system of law. If men choose to get rid of wager of battle and trial by ordeal, they must submit to the tediousness of suits in chancery, and even canon law, magnificent system as it is, must be subject to all the imperfections of things on earth. It is the very essence of schism to

resigns 1245, and Roger, Dean of Lincoln, elected, pp. 576, 598, 661. In the same year the election of the Prior of Norwich was reversed, and the monks took care to elect a favourite of the king, p. 483.

[1] Matt. Par. 545. in ann. 1240.

quarrel with the Church, because of the imperfections of the human instruments with which she works. But justice comes in the long run, and it is wonderful to see how the scene changes after the death of the meek Saint who fled to Pontigny, because all he could do for the Church had failed, and prayer was the only weapon left. It appears that his intercession came to the aid of England, for it is wonderful how the horizon cleared up after he was gone. One by one the objects for which he had fought were won for the Church. In 1241, the see of Durham, which had so long languished without a pastor, was filled up. In 1244, King Henry, after having lavished a great sum at Rome, was finally disappointed in attempting to obtain a sentence against the Bishop of Winchester. The hottest part of the battle was, however, still to come, and this was even more manifestly St. Edmund's work, for it was reserved for Richard, who had been brought up in his school to bear the full brunt of it.

The Chichester election was the first occasion on which Boniface, the new Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] made his stand against Henry's usurpations. He was a prelate of the king's own choosing, one of Henry's foreign connections, who, to the great disgust of the nation, profited by their relationship with the queen. He was a Carthusian monk, though as yet but little distinguished, except for his rank, the

[1] It is but little known that the traditionary beatification of Boniface has been confirmed by his present Holiness, and a service in his honour was allowed by the congregation of rites, to be used in Piedmont, his native country.

riches of the family, and his commanding person. But there was something in the touch of a crosier which seemed to thrill through the whole man; even courtiers and men of the world often found themselves in situations which they had little contemplated when they were nominated to their sees. Boniface had always led a life of irreproachable purity, and he now grievously disappointed Henry by taking part against him in ecclesiastical matters, and also in his contest with the barons. Boniface had also at his side a most uncompromising opponent of every abuse, wheresoever it existed. This was Richard's old master, Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln. Robert was a singular medieval anticipation of the English character of later times; he had a very great sensitiveness to taxation, especially when it came in the shape of what he thought an abuse. Foreign interference was also his abhorrence, and whatever he felt he expressed in no measured terms. With all this he had many great qualities, and above all, an awful sense of the responsibility of the episcopal office. His rough words were perpetually sounding in the ears of the young archbishop. "If," he says in a letter to him, "he who has neglected to feed Christ in his members, to receive Him in his house, to clothe and to visit him, will go into the everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels, of how much greater punishment is he worthy who slays Him in his members, or throws them into perplexity when he will appear in His presence at His tremendous judgment-seat. I tremble all over at this awful care of souls, lest perchance, instead of putting them into

the charge of men who will give life, we should intrust them to murderers, and so be condemned at Christ's judgment-seat."

This was spoken of the care of a single parish, and Grosseteste's zeal was tenfold more in defence of the then liberty of the Church in the election of bishops. And when, in 1244, on the death of Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester, Robert Passelew was, by the king's contrivance, elected to fill the vacant see, it was determined to oppose the nomination to the utmost. Grosseteste had an old ground of quarrel with Passelew, who was certainly most unworthy of the high place into which he was now thrust. He was the king's minister, and a most ingenious contriver of means of filling the king's empty coffers. Abbeys, bishops, and barons all knew well Passelew's powers in wielding the regal right as a suzerain to the best advantage. Robert, at one time, refused to institute him to a living even on the presentation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the ground that, as royal justiciary, he was obliged to sit on causes incompatible with the sacerdotal office. It was, therefore, not wonderful that he was shocked at his election to the see of Chichester. The chapter had elected him, as was frequently the case, simply because they knew it would please the king, and save them from the usual vexatious process which the king employed in dealing with obstinate chapters. But the archbishop had a voice in the matter; as metropolitan, it belonged to him to confirm the election, and he assembled several of the bishops of the province to assist him in his decision. The canons of Chichester

appeared, with their bishop elect, and Grosseteste, as an Oxford doctor and a learned theologian, was appointed to examine into the qualifications of Robert Passelew. We may judge of the confusion of the unhappy justiciary, when he got into the hands of the inexorable prelate. He soon found that theology was a different matter to deal with than the intricacies of feudal law. Grosseteste's hard questions confounded him; and the election was declared null by the archbishop, on the ground of incompetency. Then came the hard question, Who was to be bishop of Chichester? It required to be a man of no ordinary fortitude, for the mode of the election promised him a most uneasy seat. Boniface proposed Richard de Wych to the canons, and all unanimously elected him.

Richard had a miserable prospect before him when he consented to the election. In ordinary circumstances the tremendous responsibility of such a cure of souls would have been enough to sadden him; but the dreary prospect which he had in view increased the difficulties tenfold. A law-suit with the king was inevitable, and then there was the anxious question, how the court of Rome would look upon the matter. It was not a case of equity, for that would easily have been decided; but Rome had to judge according to rule, and the election was really of such a nature, that its validity admitted of more than one doubt. The question was, whether the archbishop had a right to provide, as the phrase was, a pastor for the church of Chichester. That the metropolitan had the right of confirming the election of his suffragan,

and that the archbishop and bishops of the province, in matter of fact, were usually present, and controlled the election, no one doubted; but for the archbishop, by the judgment of his own will, to make a provision of the Church, was a bold step,[1] when his decision might be reversed at Rome. It was very like assuming to himself a power which the Pope had refused to grant St. Edmund; for the Saint, shortly before his retirement to Pontigny, had vainly wished to obtain the right of appointing to sees which had lain vacant for six months.[2] All these were vast difficulties in Richard's way, not to mention the certainty of a persecution from the king; but he remembered St. Edmund, and consented to bear the weary weight. Scarcely had he done so, when he found himself at once in the midst of the sea of troubles which he had expected. By the advice of his friends, he went to the king, bringing with him letters from the archbishop, and claiming to be put in possession of the temporalities of his see. The particulars of the interview are not on record, but the result of it was precisely what Richard had anticipated. Henry was not at all disposed to consent to an election in which sentence had been passed on his own favourite, and in which he had not been consulted; an election had also taken

[1] It appears from the bull of Pope Innocent, published in Rymer's Fœdera, that Henry's grounds of opposition were quod Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus electionem cassaverit minus juste ac pro suæ voluntatis arbitrio *providerit* eidem ecclesiæ de pastore.

[2] Thomassin, 2. 2. c. 34, 7, where he adds, Tunc quidem ea non fuit in Pontifice quam ecclesiæ necessitas desiderabat vel animi magnitudo et constantia vel certe potestas.

place at Coventry against his will, and it looked very like a conspiracy of the bishops to counteract the evil influence which was exerted over the chapters. His answer then to Richard was an order to his officers to take the revenues of the see of Chichester into their hands.

Richard found himself therefore again on the wide world. This was a very different life from that which he had led in the Dominican convent at Orleans, and which he had again expected to lead according to his vow. He had now but one thing to do, and that was to fly to the Holy See. If the Pope reversed his election, he would then be free to fulfil his vow; but if it was confirmed, then, not only was he Bishop of Chichester, but his vow was at once null and void. Where he spent the year 1244 and the beginning of the next is not known, but the next place where we find him is at the council of Lyons, which began its sittings in June 1245; hither Richard came to present himself before the Pope, and to hear sentence pronounced upon his cause.

It was a most critical time for the Holy See, when Richard arrived at Lyons. Innocent had then no home, for he had quitted Rome, thinking that it was no longer safe for him to remain there amidst so many of the emperor's partisans. St. Louis had been prevented by his barons from receiving him, and Henry had refused to admit him into England. He had therefore taken refuge at Lyons, which was then an independent city under its archbishop. Innocent came thither with the stern determination of proclaiming open war against

Frederic, and of perishing if need be in the struggle. It was here first, as tradition says, that by his order the cardinals put on crimson robes to intimate that they must be ready to shed their blood for the Church. The council was assembled that the voice of Christendom might pronounce a solemn excommunication against Frederic. Every one felt that this was a final act, and that the scabbard would be for ever thrown away. All men trembled when the assembled prelates extinguished their tapers, and pronounced the awful sentence. The emperor's envoys retired beating their breasts and saying: this is a day of woe and misery. At such a time as this, when it was natural for Innocent to gather all the friends that he could, it seemed unlikely that he would offend Henry by confirming Richard's election, when he might find many good reasons for reversing it.[1] Another circumstance which rendered Henry's friendship the more necessary, was, that England was the principal fountain from which the court of Rome drew its revenues for the prosecution of the contest; and at that very time a strong remonstrance was presented by the English barons against the exactions of the Papal emissaries. Henry, therefore, seemed to be the Pope's only stay in England.

Two affairs, therefore, came before Innocent from

[1] Notwithstanding the so-called Matthew of Westminster's crabbed sentence in ann. 1245, it is evident that mere worldly policy would certainly have induced Innocent to favour Henry. Matthew Paris, with much more fairness, seems to think that the king deserved to have his power curtailed.

this country, each proceeding from very different quarters, and each illustrating the very different aspects under which the Holy See was there considered. First came the clamorous and vehement complaints of the nobles, in the name of the whole realm of England, against the appointment of foreigners to English benefices, and the levying of money from the abbeys and bishopricks of the land for the carrying on of the war with Frederic. Whether these complaints were just or not, this is not the place to consider. That abuses did exist, there seems no harm in supposing, for Innocent himself allows that the introduction of foreigners into English benefices was against his will. The circumstance is only brought forward here to show the sort of spirit which existed in this country towards Rome. It was the natural consequence of a vast system, in which the governed always take very different views of things from the government. The nationality of England was offended by the introduction of foreign clerks into its rich benefices, and the exportation of its riches for the support of a foreign war. What was Frederic to them, and what were the Lombard cities to them, isolated islanders as they were, in their sea-girt fastness? Rightly or wrongly, such was their tone, and bitter were the fruits which this English nationality produced, when men in after times made shipwreck of their faith, because of abuses in the administration of their rulers.

But, on the other hand, came Richard, to throw himself and his cause on the protection of the Holy See, ready to put himself forward in the battle of

the Church, if her cause was entrusted to him, or to go back to his Dominican convent, if the Pope refused to confirm his election. He was a type of a different spirit, but of one not less English than the other, for loyalty to authority is a characteristic of England, no less than a suspicion of foreigners, and a sensitiveness to abuses. He found the king's proctors ready, with case and precedent, to show that the king had ever had a voice in the election of bishops, ever since the days of William the Conqueror. Notwithstanding, however, the difficulties of his position, Innocent saw that there was too much at stake in England to suffer political considerations to step in. He answered Henry that it was quite true that religious kings had exercised the right of confirming elections, but that he had so abused this privilege by rejecting canonical elections on frivolous pretences, that the Church would no longer entrust him with the sacred powers which he had abused. At the same time, as the archbishop's provision was irregular, Innocent informed Henry that the election of Richard took effect from his own confirmation, which he granted in the plenitude of his apostolic power, not from the provision of Boniface.[1] The Pope then proceeded to consecrate Richard, and the bishop elect of Coventry, who had come to Lyons for the same purpose, with his own hand.[2] Innocent could hardly

[1] Matt. Par. in ann. 1245, pp. 656, 661, and Innocent's bull in Rymer's Fœdera.

[2] The Burton annals say, that Roger de Wesham, bishop of Coventry, was consecrated with St. Richard, and, according to Chesterfield, Roger's consecration took place at the time of the Council of Lyons,

have done otherwise, even if he had wished, for it is a function of the Holy See to take up the cause of the oppressed.

Ang. Sac. 1440. The date of Innocent's bull confirms this. Dat. Lugd. 12. Kal. Aug. Pontificatus nostri anno tertio. Le Neve, by mistake, makes Roger to have been consecrated in January.

CHAPTER IV

RICHARD A BISHOP

RICHARD left Lyons far otherwise than when he came to it, in the guise of a suppliant, not knowing how his cause would fare. He was now a prince of the Church, and the ring was on his finger by which he had been wedded to the Church of Christ, to be her faithful guardian. He was now the pastor of many thousand sheep; and woe to him if, by his negligence, any one was lost. But externally he was very little different; there was not a more apostolic prelate in the world than Richard, for the king had seized his temporalities. He had no barony, no palace, no armed retainers, no fine stud of horses, and no splendid clothes. He was to be supported in his high station solely by his personal character and the sanctity of his office. He was on the eve of a struggle in which, to all appearance, the world had everything and he had nothing. In this state of things, there was one place to which his eye naturally turned, and that was Pontigny. He went there to kneel at the tomb of his friend, to beg for his intercession with God, that he might have patience in the weary contest. However desolate was his present condition, still he had much to be thankful for. His life was no longer aimless,

as it was when, five years before, he had gone from Pontigny, having buried his friend, and, with him, all that he loved upon earth. He now at least had a work to do, and a principle to maintain in the Church of Christ. He therefore rose from his knees with a lightened heart, feeling sure that his sainted friend had already interceded for him, and would help him with his prayers in the arduous work which awaited him.

Richard found things precisely as he expected; as soon as he landed in England, the first news which met him was, that the king had not only taken into his possession all his manors,[1] but had forbidden anyone to lend him money. "What was he to do," says Bocking, "whither to turn, where to betake himself?" The property of bishops, at that time, consisted entirely in the produce of their lands, which they received in kind, so that he was absolutely penniless. It was to a place where we would least expect to find him that he first bent his steps. He went straight to King Henry's court, though he was perfectly aware of the reception which he was sure to meet. He, however, bore a mandate from the Holy See, enjoining Henry to acknowledge him as bishop of Chichester, and he resolved to deliver it in person. The result was as he expected; the king stormed, the nobles laughed at the poor figure of the lowly suppliant, who

[1] The Bollandists say that the king at first only made a reservation of the possessions of the see, but after his consecration confiscated them. Matthew Paris says, that Martin, the Pope's agent, had an eye to the revenues of Chichester. This seems to be an instance of the good monk's Anglicanism.

knocked at the palace gates to sue for his bishoprick; and the clerklings who hung about the court, expecting benefices from the royal bounty, looked with angry eyes upon the man who had run counter to the maxims of the court, by obtaining, at the hands of Christ's vicar, what the king's lordship had refused him. Richard went quietly through their ranks, and passed on to his diocese a beggar. He had no home to which he could turn. The gates of the many houses which were his by right were closed against him; in his very episcopal city he was a stranger. That God, who never deserts his own, raised up for him a generous friend in Simon, a poor parish priest, who offered to share with him the revenue which he derived from his benefice. Not far from Chichester, in a nook formed by a bend of the low shore of Sussex, was the little village of Ferring, of which Simon was the priest. This was the only spot in his diocese where the prelate could find rest; all men feared the king, except Simon; and God rewarded the good man's courage, for his barns never failed, and he had always wherewithal to support his illustrious guest. It was in pure faith that Simon had received him as his bishop, and, above all, a bishop suffering for the Church; but when he saw him more closely, and witnessed his gentle deportment and his unwearied patience, while all the world was against him, he learned to reverence him as a man of God. He loved to watch him as he walked in the little garden of the parsonage, wrapt in meditation, or else stooping down to watch the unfolding of the flowers. Richard turned gardener in the summer,

and it was amazing to see him intent on all the details of budding and grafting, as though a king's wrath was not hot against him, and he were again a country lad as he had been in his boyhood, living an out-of-door life among bees and flowers, and listening to the song of the birds in Feckenham Forest. Simon looked upon the plants which he had tended as hallowed by his hand. He saw the bishop once, with his own hand, skilfully budding a shrub in the garden. Soon after Richard was called away from Ferring on the business of the diocese; Simon watched the bud take root; already it had put forth tiny leaves, when, by the carelessness of the gardener, some animals strayed into the garden and destroyed the plant. When Richard returned, about the octave of St. Peter and St. Paul, Simon pointed mournfully to the shrub, and said that his work was spoiled. "Not so," said Richard, and, taking his pruning knife, he inserted another bud, and this time it prospered, and the same year it blossomed and bore fruit.

Richard, however, had no idea of remaining in quiet, listening to the sound of the gentle waters of the Arun, which flows into the sea hard by. He was not a whit the less a bishop because he was poor, so Ferring was but his headquarters. He became at once a missionary bishop, such as Sussex had not seen since the days of St. Wilfrid. Instead of being a great man, feasted to-day by the lord of Eu, and to-morrow banqueting in the halls of Arundel Castle, he was the bishop of the poor. It was a rough life for one who had been hitherto a peaceful student, and who had lived so long under

the blue sky of Italy. He had to wander up and down among the poor fishing-villages along the coast; the bleak wind of the downs, and the chill mists which rise from the low marshy grounds near the seashore, must be alike to him who had no house of his own to receive him at the end of a hard day's work during his visitation. And did he never regret the poverty which exposed him to such hardships? For one reason he did regret it, because he saw so much misery in his wanderings among the peasantry, which he could not by any means relieve. But otherwise it would have been absurd to regret what gave him a power which King Henry himself might have envied. Riches of course have a power of their own, but then it is a cumbrous, unelastic force, which is useful only where it can be brought to bear. For instance a high and mighty bishop, travelling with a long train of attendants and sumpter horses, could not be lodged in any little village by the roadside. Besides, when the poursuivants of my lord bishop come galloping into a hamlet, announcing that the great man is coming with all his retinue, and lodgings must be procured, and the whole country-side scoured to get provisions; then men think much more of the baron than of the pastor. They open their eyes and gaze upon the pageant, and think that the man environed with all this form is a being far above them. Many a corner of the diocese must escape visitation in such a sweeping journey as this. But Richard was like a keen two-edged sword, penetrating into the very heart of his diocese. The bishop seemed ubiquitous, here, there,

and everywhere. Not a village hidden in the most lonely valley, surrounded by the most pathless down, nestling at the foot of the wildest cliff which stretched into the sea, could hide itself from his presence. Along the low, willowy banks of the Lavant, in the woody vale of Arundel, among the hills which stretch their grassy sides down to Lavington and Graffham, north, south, east, and west, every nook was searched, every corner known, as familiarly as a landlord knows his estate. Even down the loneliest glade of St. Leonard's Forest the bishop might be seen riding, with his cross-bearer before him. This is, however, but an external way of viewing his work. He knew the wants of his flock much better than the face of the country. His whole diocese lay in his mind's eye like a map; here is a hard-working priest, who feeds the sheep committed to his charge by Him who died for them; there is a careless and sensual clergyman, who lets his flock wander out of the way in the wilderness. Here is a region seamed and scarred by sin; there is a spot on which the eye of a pastor may dwell with delight. Let vice turn and double as it might, there was Richard ready to confront it, and to exorcise it, crozier in hand. However deeply the poor penitent hid her shame, there was Richard ready to seek her out, and to speak over her the healing words of absolution.

Many a man, in hearing of all this, will envy Richard and wish to be like him. And doubtless it was a joyful thing to go about everywhere doing good, to catechise village children, to administer the Holy Sacraments, to smooth the rough path

of life for the wretched, to bind up the broken heart, to take the hard hand of the rude fisherman, whom misery had brutalised, and to lead him to look for happiness beyond the grave. But men forget that this is but one side of the picture. There was watching and weariness, anxiety and disappointment. However much he was courted by the few who were good, the mass of men were cold, dull, and impenetrable as ever. Often had he the misery of seeing them for whom he had wept, fasted, and prayed, at last giving themselves up to vice, and going headlong into profligacy. The consolations were few and far between; but the weary work was ever recurring. Besides which, the Church was suffering for his sake; and however little he cared for riches and honours, he was obliged boldly to claim the rights of the Church, which were entrusted to his hands. Here was matter enough for overflowing bitterness. In his pursuit of his rights, he was derided and scoffed at by the profligate, and treated with silent scorn by the proud. He had to stand as a suppliant at the king's gate, among lacqueys and menials, demanding what was his own. Yet, strange to say, this was the very part of all his troubles in which he rejoiced the most, because it brought him nearest to his Lord. Cold, hunger, and poverty, the weary journeyings, the incessant and wearing labours of the confessional in his diocese, were nothing; they brought with them their reward, for the eye of sickness and sorrow brightened when it saw him; he passed among beseeching crowds wherever he went, and tears of joy gushed out at his approach. Men can

do a great deal amid smiling looks and sympathising friends; but when his unwelcome figure presented itself at Westminster, it seemed to cast a shade wherever he went. Every face wore a scowl of hatred or an intense sneer as he approached. Nothing could have supported him here but the remembrance of Him, who was mocked by Herod and his men-at-arms, of Him, at whom men wagged their heads, when He was hanging on the cross.

This thought was the secret of his cheerful countenance and his undismayed heart amidst all his troubles. Few men knew the secret spring of his light-heartedness. The dean and the canons were puzzled, and knew not what to make of it. Once, when he returned from one of these fruitless expeditions to the court, the chapter was sitting about him in mournful silence, with sad and downcast looks, but he sat in the midst of them with a bright and sunny countenance; and looking about him with a smile, he said: "Do you not understand these words of Scripture? 'The apostles departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were thought worthy to suffer shame for His sake.' I tell you all, that by God's grace, this tribulation of ours will turn to joy." The chapter certainly had reason to wonder, for he always came back from the king's presence like a man who had just been adorned with a new title, with his blushing honours thick upon him. What sort of honours he obtained there, we may judge from Bocking's narrative. "One day, when he had entered the king's palace at Windsor, one of those who are called marshals looked at him, with a savage coun-

tenance, and said, 'How hast thou dared to set thy foot here, knowing well, as thou dost, that the king is very angry with thee?' But he, shamefaced man as he was, felt very much confused, and went quietly out of the palace, to take his place in the open air with the men of low degree, who were waiting outside. He did not curse in his heart, or murmur; but, on the contrary, gave thanks to God for those who persecuted and spoke evil of him. From thence, too, he followed the king's steps through dry and barren places, in toil and labour, for he was one of those who travel with an empty purse. Whenever he went into the king's presence, he was saluted by the courtiers with jests and gibes. But, like the apostle, being reviled, he blessed; being persecuted, he suffered it; yea, from what he had suffered with St. Edmund, he learned patience."

However, patience was not the only characteristic of this part of his life; not one jot of his episcopal authority did he abate during this time of his trial. One of the first acts of his episcopate was to hold a synod, the constitutions of which still exist, and are called after his name. They begin in a strain as high as if the bishop were surrounded with all the splendour which belonged to his predecessors. "As by the office committed to us," he says, "we are bound to provide for the salvation and the correction of those put under our charge, lest, under pretence of ignorance, any one should quit the path of justice, or should arise in his presumption, and dare to act contrary to the canons of the Church, we have thought it right to put out cer-

tain things in the presence of this holy council, lest we, who are bound to give an account of others, should have to answer for our negligence in the terrible judgment." And he proceeds to lay down rules for the administration of the sacraments, which he enumerates, and especially of penance. Henry might take away his lands, but the tremendous power of the keys he could neither give nor take, so that Richard's constitutions are not the less stringent because he had no temporal means of enforcing his decrees. On this point, his rules are singular anticipations of the precision and clearness of the provisions of later times, though they keep more closely to the sternness of ancient discipline. A guilty baron, if he had come before Richard in the confessional, could not, in the case of certain crimes, get rid of more painful penance by giving alms.[1] The penance was ever to be directed to the rooting up of the evil habit of vice. "Satisfaction," according to the constitutions, "consists in the cutting off of the causes of the sin. Fasting is the proper antidote to gluttony and lust; prayer to pride, envy, anger, and sloth; alms to covetousness and avarice." The instruction of the people is also especially provided for, and every priest is enjoined to teach them the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation, and the Creed, all in the English language.

The instruction of the simple and the ignorant

[1] Nullus sacerdos in furto, usura, rapina et fraude injungat missarum celebrationem vel eleemosynarum largitionem, sed potius ut fiat restitutio vel quibus injuriatum est, vel eorum hæredibus, si extiterint. Constit. ap. Wilkins, vol. i. p. 689.

was the chief aim of the whole of Richard's teaching. He was a poor man amongst the poor; and it was remarkable how he thus had to fulfil the functions of the Order which he had wished to enter. "Oh, Richard, servant of Christ," exclaims Friar Ralph, in describing this portion of his history, "think upon the condition of life to which, in earlier days, thou didst propose to bind thyself by a vow; and though God ordered it otherwise, and thou couldst not accomplish thy wish, yet rejoice now, for thou hast obtained grace virtually to fulfil thine intention. Dost thou ask what life I mean, I answer the life of a preaching friar; which consists in preaching Christ in poverty, without possessing anything; in labouring for the salvation of souls, and in toiling cheerfully in the harvest of the Lord, dependent on God's bounty, without earthly recompense. Be patient, and work bravely the work which thou hast in hand, that thou mayest receive at once the heavenly reward due to voluntary poverty, and that which will be given to the worthy pastor." Richard was, at this time, a very preaching friar, in the guise of a bishop.

CHAPTER V

RICHARD AMONG THE POOR

THERE is joy in the episcopal city of Chichester, and the bells of the churches are heard ringing over the green meadows in which it lies. There is a thrill of joy throughout Sussex, in the huts of the fishermen and the cottage of the labourer, for news has come that after two weary years of waiting, the bishop is to receive his own at last. His holiness the Pope had written to two English prelates, bidding them go to King Henry, and tell him that if he did not restore its lands to the see of Chichester, sentence would be pronounced against him throughout the realm. So the king had consented, and Richard might now enter his cathedral city as became a bishop. Doubtless the townsmen cried, Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord, when he entered Chichester; and the canons entoned the Te Deum when the bishop, with his jewelled mitre on his head and his crozier in his hand, entered his cathedral and was enthroned in St. Wilfrid's seat. So all on a sudden Richard found himself a great man in the realm; and all the manors of the see were put into his hands, Manwood and Aldingbourn, and Amberly and Bishopstone, and all the rest, with the great garden

surrounding the little chapel, without the walls of the city, and its wooded parks of King's-wood and Deepmarsh, filled with deer and game of all sorts.[1] All these were his, and we must now see how he could play the baron as well as the missionary bishop.

About the time of his returning prosperity,[2] St. Edmund was again brought before him, as he had been at every previous turn of his life. In June 1247 he crossed the sea and went to Pontigny, the old place of his exile, to be present at the translation of the relics of his friend. He found himself here a great man among the great men of the earth. He was accompanied by Edmund de Lacy, a religious young nobleman, who had put himself under his direction, and who would have been Earl of Lincoln, had not God taken him to himself by a premature death. Cardinals were there in their red robes, with archbishops, bishops, and mitred abbots. At this point of his history, if not before, Richard came across St. Louis, for he was there too, then in the prime of his life, with the cross on his shoulder. Blanche of Castile was there, and Isabella of France, the sister of St. Louis, who refused the hand of the emperor's son to dedicate herself to Christ. Richard gazed on the face of his friend, and imprinted on

[1] v. cart. ap. Dugdale, 6, 1170.

[2] The precise time when Henry restored the temporalities of the see to St. Richard is not known, but it must have been about the time that St. Edmund's translation took place, for it is said to have been two years after his consecration in the middle of 1245. The property of the see of Coventry was restored in 1246, apparently about the feast of St. Mark, but no mention is there of the see of Chichester. Matt. Par. in ann.

his memory once more every line of it, for the body was still uncorrupt, and the Saint lay in his pontifical robes like one asleep. When the ceremony was over, and he had prayed for his intercession through the rest of his weary pilgrimage, he hurried back to his flock. Bernard de Sully, bishop of Auxerre, tried to keep him, for he wanted his advice in the management of his diocese; but Richard said that he should have to answer not for the church of Auxerre but of Chichester, so he went straight from Pontigny to Whitsand, intending to cross over at once to England.[1] But when he arrived at the sea-shore, he found the wind blowing and the waves high, and the master of the vessel shook his head and said that he would not venture to set sail in such boisterous weather. Richard remained for some time at Whitsand, and still the gale blew, and the clouds looked black; at last he sent for the captain and answered his doubtful words by saying that the power of God was greater than the storm, and could allay the winds and the waves. The sailor then said that he would venture, so the bishop and his train embarked. But they had not been long on the water, when the wind rose to a hurricane, and the sea tossed about the vessel so that she became unmanageable. The bishop's attendants entreated the captain to put back, but it was too late, for they were at the mercy of the waves. Then in their extreme peril William, the bishop's chaplain, besought him to give his blessing. He had been standing calmly and without fear, looking on the

[1] It appears that he was anxious to return on account of a famine which was then raging.

tossing waters around, for he had made up his mind that God would preserve them. At William's earnest request, however, he lifted up his hand and gave his blessing. Soon after this they saw that they were making progress, and approaching the white cliffs of Dover; and when they landed they found that they had left behind all the other vessels which had quitted the harbour with them, and which were still tossing on the waves, dispersed on every side by the tempest. They returned thanks to God, and always attributed their safety to the presence of Richard.

It was a joyful moment for Richard, when after all the dangers of sea and land, he caught sight of the long roof and the low tower of his cathedral rising above the houses of Chichester, to welcome him as he came back. Our good friend Ralph Bocking has left us a most undigested series of anecdotes as to this part of his life; and out of all this mass we can only get one clear idea, that his life was very like what it was when he was in Simon's house, and yet very different. It was very different, because he had large resources at his command; and yet it was very like, because he was always poor, for he gave away all he had. Earls and countesses, great men and fine ladies, congregate about him, and when they come to see him he gives them a noble banquet, with gold and silver cups; and doubtless the huge boar's-head and the venison of Deepmarsh graced the board, and the wines of France sparkled in the goblets. And seneschals and bailiffs and men at arms appear about him, and my lord bishop has his prisons to keep malefactors (though

not very secure as we shall see) and his courts to judge them. And yet in the great hall of the episcopal palace we see nearly the same figure as in the poor parsonage at Ferring, except that the dress is neater and not threadbare, and the forehead is more bald,[1] and the long neck seems thinner, and the cheek-bones more prominent, and the eyes more worn with watching.[2] He used to wear the same dress as his clerks and chaplains, his fellows, as he called them, a white tunic, and over it a pallium and a cope. He used to keep open house, and, as Bocking says, "his charity was more capacious than the ample halls of his palace." He used to sit at the head of his table, his cheerful face lightening the whole company. He delighted in conversation, and if anything remarkable was said by any one, he did not forget to write it down in his common-place book. I remember once that he said to me, "the words which you spoke yesterday, I have this night written down in my book with mine own hand." And when dinner was over and the usual grace was said, he used to return thanks with his hands and eyes raised, so audibly that all around were excited to devotion. In conclusion, he always gave the blessing in these words: "God give us help as He knoweth our wants."

What was, however, the hidden life of this bishop of cheerful face and affable manners? He knew well the awful responsibility of his charge, and that the bishop stands in the place of the chief Shepherd of

[1] Quia calvus sum. Boll. p. 297.

[2] Ex tunc in proprii corporis castigatione rigidor—vigiliis refocillavit spiritum. Boll. p. 294.

the sheep, so he resolved to imitate his Lord in His crucifixion and His sufferings. So while his table was laden with viands, he hardly touched meat, but used to dine on bread soaked in wine. "When there were on his table, lamb, or kid, or chicken, he used, half in jest and half in earnest, to say, 'If ye could speak, how would ye blame our gluttony. We are the cause of your death. Ye innocent ones, what have ye done worthy of death?'"[1] Beneath his neat white garments he wore hair cloth, and over that a weighty shirt of steel rings, which pressed heavily on his tender limbs. At times he carried next to his skin chains, with steel points, and these tore his innocent flesh, which, by the testimony of his confessors, had never known sin. After many hours spent at night in prayer and meditation on his knees, his face bathed in tears, he would throw his weary limbs upon his bed, which was a common mattress, though it was surrounded by the rich hangings which befitted his station. So long were his watchings, that he was sometimes found in the morning stretched with his face on the pavement, where his exhausted frame had sunk in sleep the night before. And notwithstanding his late hours, he was up with the lark, ready to say the office, for if he was not up before the birds, he would say, Shame on me! the birds, though they are not rational creatures, have been beforehand with me in singing their songs in praise of their Creator. And yet so merciful to others was he, though so ruthless to himself, that when his clerks were not up in time to say the office with him, he would go away to his

[1] Boll. p. 292.

private prayers, muttering to himself, Sleep on now, and take your rest. And this, be it remembered, was not a hermit in a desert, nor a monk in a cloister; he was living in the world, a man of business, who kept open house and received company. He rode on horseback about his diocese, preaching and administering the sacraments to his flock. Truly he was the minister of Him who sat down wearied under the burning mid-day sun, and asked for a cup of water to quench His thirst; who spent whole nights on the cold mountains in prayer; and whose flesh at last was torn with cruel scourgings, and pierced with nails for our sake.

And not one jot of even what the world would call usefulness was lost to his diocese by Richard's austerities. From knowing himself what suffering meant, his heart was overflowing with unbounded charity to all sufferers amongst his flock.

No curate in all the diocese worked harder than the bishop. It was among the poor especially that the overflowing charity of his heart expanded itself. He stooped down to their sorrows, and felt more at home among them than in his episcopal palace. "Whenever," says his chronicler, "he entered the towns and villages of his diocese, he made diligent inquiry as to the sick and infirm amongst the poor, and not only assisted them with alms, but was wont to visit them and console them by his presence. He cheered them with the spiritual food of the word of God; he spoke to them of patience, and bade them recollect how the fiery trial of poverty cleansed the stains of sin, and what joys in the life to come would be the result of a real poverty, that is, of one

willingly borne. This spiritual alms, this feeding of the poor ones of Christ with the sweetness of God's word, was the work which most came home to his heart. He generally performed it himself, but sometimes entrusted it to the Black or Grey Friars." And it was not only those who came directly before him who felt the effects of his charity; he went out of his way to mingle in the sorrows of the fatherless and the widow. He used to order the parish priests of the manor on which he happened to be residing, to reserve for him the burial of the poor who died while he was there. Parochial work was what he loved best, and, whenever he could, priest, and not bishop, of Chichester, was the name by which he called himself. He never forgot that he had once been himself, at one time, a poor student, at another a poor priest, and so his love extended itself over these two classes. He built an hospice, to which priests who were aged, blind, or in delicate health might retire and be in peace; and he was known, when his coffers were empty, to give to poor scholars gilt goblets off his table, bidding them go and pawn them and take the money, and "we will redeem them," he said, "in God's own time." Even the priest who had ill-treated him in his youth and wasted the money which he had entrusted to him, was relieved by him when he became a bishop.

He soon had opportunities enough of active charity in his diocese, for, in the year 1247,[1] a grievous

[1] The Bollandists quote a manuscript of Radulfus Cestrensis to show that this famine was in the year 1245. It adds, however, that it occurred the year of St. Edmund's translation, which shows that it was in 1247.

famine broke out in England, at the time that he hurried back from Pontigny, at the peril of his life. As soon as he was installed in his diocese, he recalled his brother[1] to his side, and made him the seneschal of his household. Since Richard had left his home in Worcestershire, this brother had become a soldier and a knight, so he was well qualified to manage the extensive lands of the see, and to rule over the episcopal household. Bocking says that he was a prudent man; however, his prudence, which suited well with Richard's purse, did not suit as well with his charity. The see was burdened with debt, for the king's officers had rifled the manors to good purpose before they gave them up, and the seneschal was anxious to see it flourish again before he ventured to be generous. This did not, however, answer Richard's purpose at all; the poor people were dying with famine about him, and his kind heart could not bear their complaints. "Is it just, my dear brother," he would then often say, "or right, in the sight of God, that we should use gold and silver on our table, while Christ, in His poor ones, is tormented with hunger?" And then the thought of St. Edmund came across him; and he added, "I have learned from my father to eat and drink out of a wooden platter and a wooden goblet. Let my gold and silver plate be broken up, and let them go to the feeding of His members who has redeemed

[1] Bocking says that he was militaris ordinis. This might seem to imply that he belonged to one of the military orders; it probably, however, only means that he was a knight. Richard, in his will, leaves some money to his brother if he chooses to go to the Holy Land. It probably was this brother, though Bocking gives him a different name.

us, not with perishable gold and silver, but with His precious blood. There is my horse, too; he is a good and valuable one; sell him, I pray thee, and feed Christ's poor ones with the price of him." His brother was obliged to obey, but it went sorely against the grain, and he determined to manage the business in his own way, without telling the bishop. Richard, shortly after, during his visitation of the nunnery of Rusper, in the northern part of the county, found that the famine had reached the poor sisters, and their granaries were nearly empty. They served their Lord in silence and contentedness, in the loneliest part of the weald, and the world which lay beyond their solitude had forgotten them. His heart was touched with compassion, and he ordered his brother to give to the nuns a certain sum every year. The seneschal, like an old soldier as he was, determined to manage the matter craftily, so that the bishop's coffer should not suffer; so, without telling him anything, he did not pay the pension to the convent. He, however, nearly lost his brother's favour, for Richard, when he found it out, reproved him sharply, and said that he should be master in his own house; and asked him if he thought the canons of Chichester such fools as to elect his seneschal their bishop, instead of himself.[1]

It was at this time that God came to aid the efforts of His servant to relieve the wretched state of the poor. Richard was at Cakeham, one of his manors, a few miles from Chichester. His house

[1] It appears that certain livings were appropriated to the nunnery in 1247. This matter must have passed through Richard's hands, as it could not be done without the bishop's leave.

lay near a long reach of low sandy beach, which separated it from the sea; it seems to have been a favourite residence of his, on account of the pure air which he inhaled from the fresh breezes, while his eye could wander undisturbed over the waters, till it rested in the distance on the green shores of the Isle of Wight. Thither the poor starving people had followed him, for the famine still continued, and whole families had nothing to eat. Even the bishop's stores had nearly failed; and so little corn was in his granaries, that the officers of his household fancied that they had not enough to fill their hungry mouths for one day. They, therefore, hit upon the expedient of boiling beans, to satisfy at least a part of them. Richard happened to pass through the place where this cooking was going on, and perceived this new indication of the soreness of the famine. He said nothing, but lifted up his hand and gave the blessing. When the officers distributed the food to the poor, they found that it sufficed for all, though they had thought that it was barely enough for a third part of them, and they ascribed the superabundance to the merits of the bishop.

When the famine was over, and there was again corn in the land, the love and reverence which they felt for their bishop increased tenfold. They had recourse to him in all their little wants, and they believed that they derived virtue from the blessing which he gave them, as he passed among them. One day, as he was crossing the bridge of Lewes, he saw some fishermen throwing their nets into the water. One of the household of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was standing on the bridge watch-

ing them, cried out to him, "O my lord, we have toiled a long time, and caught nothing; wait now, if it please thee, a little, till we try once more, and give us thy blessing, as we let down the net." Richard smiled, but did as they asked him, and said, "Let it down now, in the name of the Lord." And when they drew it to land they found in it four large mullets. They laid them at the bishop's feet, but he bade them take them to the house of Franciscans in the town. At another time, some poor fishermen, who had been fishing all day at Bramber, without catching anything, saw the welcome figure of the bishop approaching them, and cried out, "My lord, for the love of God, give us thy blessing, for we have toiled all day in vain." Then Richard, out of his overflowing compassion, stretched forth his hand and blessed them; and, immediately letting down the net, they enclosed a large number of fish.

One more instance of Richard's power, and we have done. Reginald, the mayor of Chichester, one day paid him a visit, and was surprised to find with him a wretched and loathsome cripple. Reginald asked who he was, and was answered that he was a poor boy, whom Richard, before he was a bishop, had found stretched before the porch of the church of Orpington in Kent. With his wonted compassion, he had taken the poor boy to live with him, and had brought him to his palace, when he quitted his parsonage. The mayor said, "My Lord, let him be brought into thy presence, that thou mayst lay hands on him and bless him, and I feel sure that he will recover." This required a further effort than the

half-playful blessing of the fisherman, and Richard hesitated. But he bethought him of the merits of St. Edmund, and sent for the cup which had so often touched the lips of his sainted friend. He then blessed the poor boy, and gave him drink out of St. Edmund's cup; and his crooked limbs were made straight, and he was restored to health.

In all these instances, it was the overflowing love of the holy man which moved him to exert himself, in the same way as he gave alms and comforted the sick. And this is the Christian notion of miraculous gifts. They are a certain objective power residing in a Saint, by the special gift of God, and welling out from him, as it were without an effort, by an heroic act of charity.

CHAPTER VI

RICHARD AS A GREAT MAN

THE character of a Christian bishop has its stern as well as its merciful side; and we have only seen Richard as yet compassionate and patient. But it was principally in his relations with the great men of the earth that he had need of appearing inexorable, and on these we have hardly touched as yet. A multiplicity of business came before him as Bishop of Chichester and as baron of the realm; and this brought him in contact with kings and queens, earls and countesses. In this respect, he had a most difficult part to play. It was hard to reconcile the Saint and the great man; and doubtless Richard's hair-shirt pressed more roughly on his limbs, when he had to smile and be agreeable among great company than when he was in the sphere which he loved best, among the poor people of his flock. It would have been hard under any circumstances, but it was especially so in his case; for he had been the first to come before the nobles of the land as the champion of the Church; and now that he was victorious in the contest, and was in point of fact a bishop nominated by the Holy See in the teeth of the royal power, it was hard to do away with old heart-burnings. He had been

thoroughly hated by all about the court, and in the face of this feeling he had, at times, to associate with his old opponents. Besides which, between the Church and rapacious and irreligious nobles, perpetual causes of quarrel were rising up; sometimes a great man wanted an unworthy relation to be instituted to a living, or else he encroached upon the lands of the Church or oppressed a monastery. And, in this way, Richard was thrown in contact not only with noblemen, but with chartered cities and corporations; and, in short, with whatever was of the world. It was a hard matter to conciliate the esteem and reverence of all amidst such manifold points of opposition, and yet Richard managed to compass the difficulty. He divided himself, as it were, into two. As a public man, not Grosseteste himself, was a more stern and inexorable defender of the rights of the Church than Richard; but into his private intercourse with the world, he carried the same generosity and the same meekness and gentleness as with the poor. Not Grosseteste himself was a better type of an Englishman than the generous and open-hearted Richard. The halls of Amberley and of Cakeham were open to the rich and noble, as well as to the poor. The feasts were not so sumptuous as at the great table of the Bishop of Lincoln,[1] nor was his conversation so suited to men of the world; but all his guests, as they went from his gates, felt that they should never cease to love him for his cheerful and dignified courtesy. His kindness of

[1] In mensa refectionis corporalis, dapsilis, copiosus et civilis, hilaris et affabilis. As to Grosseteste, see annals of Lanercost, ap. Ang. Sac.

heart, which overflowed in all he did and said, and the graceful dignity of his manner won the hearts of all. Who, indeed, could help loving him? "I saw once," says Bocking, "a man whom he wished to honour come in to dine with him, and ask for water to wash his hands before dinner." They, therefore, went together to prepare for dinner; and when his guest was holding for him the napkin, according to the usual mark of respect, Richard pulled off his ring as if he wished him to hold it. When he had wiped his hands, and his guest held out the ring to give it back to him, the bishop would not take it back, but put it on his friend's finger, and bade him keep it for his sake, saying that he had another.

As for his enemies, he had a singular mode of dealing with them, which forced them to love him in spite of themselves. One of the courtiers had been heard to say, while Richard was still excluded from his manors by Henry, that he was willing to be hanged if any one would hang the bishop with him; and yet on this very man Richard conferred many kindnesses, after his manors were restored to him. In the same way he astonished John, the first Fitzalan who was Earl of Arundel. The earl had done grievous injury to the Church, and had been excommunicated; one day, however, he came on business to the bishop, expecting to meet with a very cool reception. Richard seized on this opportunity to try to melt this stubborn heart; he received him into his house, and suspended the sentence of excommunication for as long as he remained under his roof. He placed him next to

himself at dinner, gave him his blessing, and conversed with him affably and cheerfully, dismissing him at last with gifts. The earl was quite puzzled, and went away saying: "Never, in my life, have I seen such a man; he loves his enemies, and returns good deeds for injuries." Richard afterwards, when John Fitzalan incurred the king's displeasure, used his interest to reconcile them.

It was no wonder that Richard was beloved, when he used such guileless arts as these; the nobles bowed their heads willingly before this uncompromising champion of the Church with all his severity. Richard had his disciples among the great men and women of the world. Edmund de Lacey, as we have seen, bred up as he was in the midst of the court, loved him tenderly; and it appears, incidentally, that the golden cross which Richard wore was the gift of the Earl of Lincoln. Isabella, too, the dowager countess of Arundel,[1] a woman of such strength of character that she ventured to reprove King Henry to his face, loved him, and put herself under his direction. By his advice she never married again, but continued a widow, employing herself in works of charity; and among other good deeds founded a nunnery at Marham in Norfolk. He brought a blessing upon her house; and by his intercession, God was pleased to heal

[1] There were two Countesses of Arundel called Isabella at once. One was the wife of the last Albini or d'Aubeny, who was Earl of Arundel, and daughter of William, Earl Warren and Surrey. The other was her sister-in-law, who, by her marriage with John Fitzalan, brought the earldom of Arundel into that family. This latter Isabella was three times married, and therefore the other was the disciple of St. Richard, as appears from Bocking's dedicatory epistle.

a religious widow who lived with her. Young and old loved Richard; and in this respect, he contrasted with his old friend Grosseteste, who was at feud with every body. Pope and king, the chapter of Lincoln, and the monks of the diocese, secular and regulars, all had differences with him. And yet it was not that Richard had no opportunities of quarrelling; in the defence of his Church, he was as stern as Grosseteste. The Abbot of Fécamp, the Countess of Kent, and even the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall, the king of the Romans, all fell under his lash, and yet so meek and mild was he in the midst of his unbending assertion of the rights of the Church, that none of them could help loving him.

In one respect alone was Richard inexorable even to sternness, and that was when any one violated the dignity of the priesthood, or any priest polluted his holy office by sin. In one case he had deprived a priest of noble blood of his benefice, and was assailed on all sides by petitions for his re-instalment. "But," says Bocking, "though king and queen, and many great nobles with prelates and bishops earnestly and often begged him to restore the offender to his benefice, he was immovable, and would not yield for all their prayer." To one bishop, who was especially urgent, he answered, "My lord bishop, I commit my authority to thee in this case, at the peril of thy soul, as thou wouldest wish to have acted at the day of judgment before the Judge of all"; but the bishop would not accept the bargain. On the other hand, a knight had violently put a priest in prison; Richard not only refused to accept a large sum of

money as a commutation of penance ; but compelled the guilty knight to hang round his neck the block of wood to which he had chained his captive, and thus accoutred, to walk into the court of Lewes, and round the church which belonged to the priest whom he had injured. The same town of Lewes was the scene of another vindication of the rights of the Church, though the guilty parties were of a different class. Some burgesses of Lewes had violently torn a malefactor out of a church in which he had taken sanctuary, and had hanged him. On pain of excommunication, Richard made them dig up the body, which had been buried out of consecrated ground, and bear it on their shoulders to the church out of which they had taken him. Others again, who had aided and abetted, he compelled to do penance in their shirts and drawers, with ropes round their necks, through the streets of Lewes ; and he indignantly refused to commute this penance for a pecuniary fine. In this case, however, it is probable that this indignation was roused as much by compassion for the wretched malefactor as by the injury done to the Church ; for in another case, he extended the work of his mercy to a miserable outcast from society, by the use of the right of sanctuary, which he evidently considered to be a salutary check on the summary justice as well as injustice of the times. A woman about to become a mother was shut up by the king's officers in one of the bishop's prisons under a sentence of death, which was only deferred till after her delivery. He happened to come to the manor where she was imprisoned, and went to visit her. He bade her go

and sin no more, and repent of her sins, and pointed out to her a neighbouring church where she might take refuge. And when his seneschal came to him with a long face with the news that she had got off, and that he should have to pay a fine of one hundred shillings for her escape, he said, "What are one hundred shillings to the life of a captive? Blessed be God who hath freed her."

In all these things, it is evident that Richard's whole life was engaged in making men feel that there was an authority upon earth superior to anything earthly. He knew well that men care but little for an abstraction, and so he brought the Holy Church as a living thing before the eyes of all. Through all the various gradations of society, he made her influence to be felt; the middle-classes as well as the higher, were all drawn within the capacious circle which he traced about them. The importunate cross was held up before the eyes of all, from the king in his palace to the captive in the lowest dungeon of a feudal prison. His labours reached even beyond the Church; and a Jew whom he had instructed in the faith was baptised by him with his own hands in Westminster Abbey, in the presence of the king, who stood godfather to the new convert.

CHAPTER VII

THE LAST DAYS

THESE were the proper and daily functions of Richard's episcopate, and in them consisted his daily life for eight years. Only a confused view can be given of it from the scantiness of the notices of time and place furnished by his biographer, but we obtain a more distinct notion of him as we approach to the close of his life. The scene and the manner of his labours were then somewhat changed, for in obedience to a commission from the Holy See he set about preaching a new crusade in the year 1252. It was at all times a thankless and a weary task, to urge men to leave their homes to cross the seas on a distant expedition, and mothers and wives often strove to prevent pilgrims from assuming the cross.[1] But in this instance the preaching of the crusade was mixed up with many agitating questions which then began to occupy the public mind in England. It was at this time that the unpopularity of the court of Rome in England was at the highest. The laity and clergy were disgusted at the taxes which were raised on the impoverished country for the support of the crusades and of the war with the emperor, as well as with the number

[1] Dunham, Europe in the Middle Ages, iv. 304.

of foreign ecclesiastics who were appointed to benefices in England. In consequence of this feeling, associations had been formed for the destruction of the property of Roman clerks; and foreigners holding benefices had been compelled to take refuge in the monasteries. About this time, too, Grosseteste's fiery manifesto was sent to Lyons, so that in fulfilling the Papal commission Richard was acting in a spirit the very opposite to that of the violent Bishop of Lincoln. It will be seen by-and-bye that he had views of his own upon the subject of the taxation of the clergy, but he sacrificed all feelings to his obedience to the Holy See, and proceeded zealously in his ungracious task.

It was all very well whilst he proceeded along the coasts of Sussex and Kent, in his mission; there he was on his own ground. He began in his own cathedral of Chichester, and the very arches, which now look down in their stern strength upon those who worship there, echoed to his voice as he preached the cross. Then he went down towards the coast; and from the low turf-clad promontory of Selsey, the mother church of his see, along by Cakeham and Ferring, the scene of his patient poverty, and the sea-beaten cliffs of Beachy-head, from village to village, and town to town he went, preaching the cross of Christ. He was a very missionary in this his preaching; and it was not only externally that he persuaded men to take the cross on their shoulders; deep in their hearts he impressed it. He represented the crusade as a penance and as the commencement of a change of life to them who had led dissolute and wicked lives. "His aim," says

Bocking, "was to bow down the rough necks of the sailors to the yoke of Christ's cross; he preached of the abominations of sin, and of the punishment of Divine vengeance which follow it. He tried to produce grief and contrition in his hearers, and so he impressed upon them the healthful mark of the cross." The rough pilots of the sea coast, hardened into indifference by a life of constant peril and toil, and the reckless sailors of the Cinque Ports came to kneel at his feet, and did not fear to confess the long tale of crime, which they had thought too heavy to be unfolded to any one on earth and too terrible to be forgiven in heaven; but the good bishop gave them such sweet words of comfort that they ventured to tell him all. And when he told them how good St. Louis had suffered in captivity for the sake of the Holy Land, and was even then in Palestine waiting for succour from Europe, and how they should fight for the Lord's sepulchre, and perhaps kneel in the place where His body was laid, and obtain the remission of their sins, the tears ran down their weather-beaten cheeks, and the penance seemed to them comparatively light. In this way he proceeded along the coast, even to Canterbury, "the Jerusalem of England," as the friar calls it, "since there rest the precious bodies of the martyred pontiffs Thomas and Alphege, and so many other Saints."

Thus far Richard was labouring among the poor, where he loved to be; but soon after Easter he was summoned up to a parliament at Westminster, on Wednesday, April 14th, and the king made a proclamation, that the citizens of London were to

be there as well as the barons and great men of the realm. And Richard, with Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, and the Abbot of Westminster, were to preach to this great assembly, to persuade them to take to heart the business of the cross. Richard, however, found a very different audience under the vaulted roof of Westminster Abbey, from that which he addressed in the parish churches of Sussex, or under the sky, with a rock for his pulpit, near the sea shore. There were the rich citizens of London, who a few years before had wealth enough to buy the crown jewels of the needy king, and who aspired to be called barons; and there were, too, the proud nobles of the realm, who had then too much to do at home in opposing the king, to think of going to Palestine. This was a most unpromising audience, and at this time, as any one might see who looked upon them, suspicion was on every countenance, and the hearts of all were evidently steeled against the preacher. However eloquent Richard might be, it was evident that his efforts were all thrown away; the nobleman frowned, and the citizen looked dogged and laid his hand instinctively on the pouch which hung to his girdle. The fact was that they all suspected that this new Crusade was but another mode adopted by the king to extort money. Besides which they were very sore with the Holy See, of which the preacher was the representative; so, says Matthew of Paris, few citizens and few Englishmen took up the cross. Richard went on with his ungrateful task after this repulse, and nothing more is heard of him definitely till the feast of St. Edward, January 5th, of

the next year.[1] Again he is found at Westminster taking his seat among the nobles of the land; but it was a scene which suited him little, though he took a prominent part in it. Still more stern were the countenances of the barons than they had been the year before, for now was read a mandate from the Holy See granting to the king on the eve of his departure for the Holy Land a tenth of the Church property for three years, and the king's agents argued that not only two years of this tax should be paid at once, as the Pope's mandate allowed, but that the third year should be paid in advance. At this announcement the nobles reddened with anger and the prelates looked blank. Then up started Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, in great wrath, and spoke in words too characteristic to be omitted. "What is this?" he said, "by our Lady, ye are reckoning on what has never been granted to you. Do ye suppose that we have given our consent to this cursed contribution? Far be from us this bowing of the knee to Baal." And when the bishop elect of Winchester suggested that between the Pope and the king they should be obliged to pay the demand, and that the French had already established a precedent, Grosseteste answered, "So much the more ought we to resist, because the French have yielded, for two acts are enough to constitute a custom. Besides, alas! that it should be so; we see as clear as daylight what has come of the King of France's tyrannical extortion; lest then both the king and

[1] The dates of these parliaments are taken from Dr. Parry's excellent book "The Parliaments and Councils of England."

we should incur the just judgment of God, I for one freely give my voice against this oppressive contribution." It certainly seems reasonable at first sight, that the clergy should contribute with their wealth to the defence of the Holy Land, for which the laity hazarded their lives; and St. Louis was no tyrant, as Grosseteste might have known, notwithstanding his intemperate words. But, on the other hand, the character of Henry was so weak and vacillating that he was hardly fit to be trusted with the money: and his having demanded what the Pope had not allowed him to require, were strong reasons against granting the demand. Besides, the churches were oppressed with debt and drained by the continual demands of the court of Rome; the prelates therefore determined to resist the demand, and in the end they put off the consideration of the question.

It would have been better for Grosseteste's fame if his words had been more chastened than they often were towards the Holy See. Notwithstanding his very great qualities, his memory has been mixed up with absurd fables, and the story of his life has become a mythic embodying of the principle of opposition to the see of St. Peter.[1] Richard did better than Robert Grosseteste; after giving his vote in parliament, he went back to his weary task of preaching the cross, in obedience to the highest authority in Christendom.

It was in this work that Richard died. Parliament

[1] Though much relating to Grosseteste is to be received with suspicion, there seems no reason to doubt that his letter, quoted by Matthew Paris in ann. 1253, is genuine.

was to meet again after Easter, but before that time he had gone to his rest. On the 23rd of April, the third Sunday in Lent,[1] he had got as far as Dover in his progress along the sea-coast, and went to lodge in the hospital of St. Mary, or God's house, in that town. On his arrival, the warden and brethren of the hospital begged of him to consecrate a small church and churchyard in honour of St. Edmund. His face was observed to beam with joy as he assented to their request, and those about him attributed it to his pleasure at consecrating a church in the name of his sainted friend. But it had also, as it afterwards appeared, a further meaning, for he looked upon it as an intimation that his death was at hand. After the consecration was over, he preached to a large concourse of people, and a part of his sermon has been preserved: "Dearest brethren," he said, "I pray you to praise and bless the Lord with me in that He has given us grace to be present at this dedication, to His honour, and that of our holy father Edmund. For this I have longed ever since I was consecrated a bishop; this has ever been my most earnest prayer, that before my life's end, I might consecrate at least one church

[1] The Bollandists, in the notes to Bocking's life, make it to have been the fourth Sunday. But from the Saint's words to Simon of Ferring, it is evident that he died on the Thursday week after the Sunday on which he consecrated the church, not on the next Thursday. And as this day of his death was the Thursday in the fourth week in Lent, the Sunday week before must have been the third Sunday in Lent. In the other life given in the Bollandists his sickness is said to have lasted ten days, which so far agrees with Bocking; but it makes the greater part of these ten days to have preceded the consecration of the church. It has been thought better to follow the friar, whose information is more minute.

to his honour. Wherefore with my whole heart I give thanks to God, who hath not defrauded me of the desire of my soul. And now, dearest brethren, I know that I must shortly put off this my tabernacle, in which last struggle, I pray you to give me the help of your prayers." After he had finished the celebration of mass, and given the benediction, the bishop returned to the hospital. "When, lo!" continues his biographer, "there comes to him one of his household whom he loved, asking his leave to go to visit a church to which he had been appointed. But the bishop would not give him leave, and said, 'If thou leavest me now, a time will come, and that before thy return, when thou wouldest not be absent from my side, for the whole church.'" He felt a presentiment that his last hour was at hand, though as yet no sickness had shown itself. On the Monday, he felt himself unwell, but he would not give in to the feeling; he therefore rose as usual, and entering his oratory, began to say the office. But he had not been there long, when his limbs sunk under him, and he fell prostrate on the floor. The fever was even then upon him, and he was carried to his bed, from which he never rose. He daily grew worse and felt more and more certain that he was to die. When the physicians were consulting upon his disease, he said, "Ye need not trouble yourselves to form a judgment on my disease; death is already at the door, and it has passed its judgment upon me that I must depart from this earthly tabernacle, and the spirit must go to Him who gave it."

"Seeing then," continues his biographer, "that the

time in which he was to be called from this world was at hand, he called about him some of his dearest friends, and informed them that his end was approaching. He gave directions for his funeral to William, his chaplain and intimate friend, taking care that his household should not perceive and be alarmed by his preparations. He then made a general confession of his life, and the last Sacraments were administered to him."

He soon became so weak, and his voice so low, that he could hardly be heard; yet every broken word that could be gathered showed how he kept his quiet, cheerful spirit to the last. His faithful Simon of Ferring, who was always at his bedside, once said to him, "My lord, the celebration of the Lord's Passion is at hand, and as thou art partaker of His pains, so by His grace shalt thou be of His consolation." Richard's countenance brightened when this was said to him, and he repeated in a low tone: "I was glad when they said unto me, we will go into the house of the Lord." And then turning round on his pillow, he fixed his eyes on Simon, and said "On the Friday I shall be at a great banquet"; and seeing that Simon could not catch the first words from the weakness of his voice, he said, "Do not you understand me? Is not to-day Wednesday?" Simon answered, "Yes, my lord." And then he added, "I do not mean that I shall go to the enjoyment of that banquet on Thursday, but the next Thursday after that." Simon did not understand him, but he found out afterwards what the broken words of his friend meant.

On another day he was ordered to take some food

in order to support his failing strength. One of his attendants said to him, "My lord, thy supper is but scanty to-day, it consists but of one dish, of which I hope thou wilt eat heartily." Richard said, "It is enough; one dish alone is wanted at that supper." He then added, "Know you what I mean? This is that of which St. Philip said to our Lord; 'Shew us the Father, and it is enough for us.' May the Lord give me that dish for my supper." A short time before he died, he asked for a crucifix, and receiving it with joy, he kissed the marks of the five wounds, and said, "Thanks be to Thee, my Lord Jesu Christ, for all the benefits which Thou hast given me, for the pains and insults which Thou hast borne for me; so great were they, that that mournful cry suited Thee right well, 'There is no grief like unto my grief.'" His voice grew weaker and weaker, but his faculties were unimpaired, and he still managed to speak, though in broken accents to those about him. When his end was drawing nigh, he said, "Lay this putrid carcass on the ground." So when they had laid his suffering frame on the floor, he repeated, over and over again, "Lord, into Thine hands I commend my spirit." He had recourse to the intercession of the blessed Virgin, in his last agony, and said, "Mary, mother of grace, mother of mercy, do thou protect me from the enemy, and receive me in the hour of death." It was at midnight that, with many of the faithful, both laymen and ecclesiastics standing about him, assembled to witness the death of the righteous, that "blessed father Richard gave up his soul into the hands of his Creator."

The last thoughts which he gave to earthly matters were directed to his friends and to his cathedral. In his will, which is still extant, he distributes his books among various religious houses, principally of the two Orders of friars. He remembers all his servants, his old friend Simon of Ferring, and his brother; and especially he leaves twenty-one marks as a marriage portion to his sister's daughter. To the Bishop of Norwich,[1] who it appears from a slight notice in his life was his intimate friend, he left a signet-ring. To the building fund of his cathedral, he left a large sum of money. To his cathedral also he bequeathed his body "to be buried," he says, "in the nave near the altar of the blessed Edmund Confessor, close to the pillar."

His love for St. Edmund, the key-note of his life, was thus again struck on his death-bed, and now prolonged after his death. His bowels were buried in the church which he had consecrated, but his body was dressed in his pontifical garments, and placed on a bier, and carried to Chichester. The bells of the churches sounded, and the ecclesiastics issued forth in procession, as the solemn funeral approached a village, a town, or a monastery. Tears and lamentations marked its progress, and those thought themselves happy who could approach near enough to touch his sacred body; and when at length his remains were brought into his cathedral, the plaintive chaunts of the service were broken by lamentations. He was buried where he desired, near

[1] The Bishop of Norwich is, by mistake, called John, in the copy of the will published in Dallaway's "Sussex."

St. Edmund's altar, as it is described, on the north side of the church. His body does not, however, rest there now. There is a small chantry in a space opening into the south transept of Chichester Cathedral, and in it a mutilated tomb with a recumbent figure of a bishop in his pontifical robes. It is beneath that tomb that St. Richard lies in his saintly rest. Thither his body was translated, probably, after he had been canonised by Urban IV. in the year 1262, principally at the instance of John, Bishop of Winchester,[1] in consequence of the many miracles wrought by his intercession.

May his prayers avail for all who in these times of perplexity know not where to find rest for their souls, and bring them to the only haven where peace is to be found in this wretched world. May they avail for those who are now piously repairing his tomb, and for all connected with that cathedral, that they may be led to the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls, and to the one fold which He has established upon earth.

[1] This bishop is called "John of Guernsey" by Godwin. Is not this a mistake for Joannes Gervasii?

LIFE OF

STEPHEN LANGTON

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY



Rev. Mark Pattison.

Rector of Lincoln College

LIFE OF

STEPHEN LANGTON

CHAPTER I

THE following pages differ from the preceding numbers of the series, in being almost entirely occupied with the public history of the period. They are not so much a biography of Langton, as a history of the struggle of King John against the Holy See—a contest which ushered in the thirteenth century, and forms the whole history of the reign of that king. Little is often known of the personal history of great Saints. And this is not surprising of men whose "life is hid with Christ in God." But it is matter of wonder, that so little should be on record concerning that great prelate, who, during a twenty-three years' occupation of the see of Canterbury, acted in public a more prominent part in national affairs, and in the cloister produced more works for the instruction of his flock, than any who, before or since him, have been seated in that "Papal chair of the North," — who was the soul of that powerful confederacy who took the crown from the head of the successor of the Con-

queror,—and yet, next to Bede, the most voluminous and original commentator on the Scriptures this country has produced—and who has transmitted to us an enduring memorial of himself, in three most different institutions, which, after the lapse of six centuries, are still in force and value among us—Magna Charta,—the division of the Bible into chapters,—and those constitutions which open the series, and form the basis, of that Canon Law, which is still binding in our Ecclesiastical Courts.

STEPHEN, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1206—1229, is known by the surname of Langton, from the place of his birth, Langton, near Spilsby, in Lincolnshire. His family, though not illustrious, was sufficiently well known to be appealed to afterwards, in proof of his loyalty to the king.[1]

The persecution and vexation the Church suffered under Henry II., and the consequent insecurity of study, had almost annihilated in England learning, or the means of acquiring it. Oxford and the other English schools were forsaken, and English students spread themselves over Europe in search of that instruction which their own country no longer supplied. But of all the foreign schools, none had such attractions at this period as the rising University of Paris. Bologna might be celebrated for its professors of the new and popular study of canon law; Toledo[2] had caught, from the proximity of the

[1] "In terrâ tuâ natus de parentibus tibi fidelibus et devotis." Epist. Inn. iii. ad Joan.

[2] A. Wood. Hist. Un. Ox. p. 56.

Arabians, some of their love for mathematical science; but the best instruction in all the various branches might be found gathered into one focus in the bosom of this "Instructress of the World."[1] There no art or science was neglected; but above all in theology, to which arts were but introductory, it was already illustrated by doctors whose fame was maintained in the Sorbonne even to the Revolution. Important cases of conscience were referred to them, as points of law were to the canonists of Bologna. Henry II. offered to submit the question between himself and St. Thomas to the scholars.[2] Popes consulted them; and the highest praise that could be given to an expounder of doctrine was, "One would suppose he had spent his life at Paris!"[3] It was liberally encouraged by two successive sovereigns, Lewis VII. and Philip II. Thus a concourse of students from all parts of Christendom was drawn together there, such as perhaps was never, before or since, collected in one place for a similar purpose. Hungary and Poland, Sweden and Denmark, countries then almost outside the European world, sent their youth there; and, from specimens contained within the precincts of the university, a contemporary depicts the character of almost all the nations of Europe.[4]

The distinction which Stephen Langton attained as a teacher, both in the new philosophy of the schools and in the exposition of Scripture, first drew on him the discerning eye of Innocent III. Innocent

[1] "Doctrix totius orbis." Rigord.
[2] Rad. de Dicet. ap. Bul. ii. 262.
[3] Hurter, Geschicht. Inn. iii. vol. i. 13.
[4] Jacobus a Vitriaco, Hist. Occ. 279.

had himself studied at Paris; but, having quitted it before 1185,[1] could hardly have been personally acquainted with Stephen. But Innocent ever watched most sedulously over the place of his early education; and Langton was one of that class whom it was his object through his long pontificate to draw round him from every part of the Church,—men well trained in school theology without being mere students, and fit for active life without being secularised in principle; and few men, as we shall see in the sequel, have united in a higher degree than Langton deep theology with practical talent.

That he taught in the university first the liberal arts, and afterwards theology, and that he became a canon of the cathedral church of Notre Dame, is, with one exception, all that is known of his history previous to his going to Rome. That exception is his connection with Fulk of Neuilly, the reformer of the University of Paris; and it will be necessary to say something more of it.

It will not be supposed that there were not drawbacks to a state of things in itself so admirable as that of the university; evils which arose from the very zeal of learning and throng of votaries. Its position in the centre (Philip Augustus's wall was begun in 1190) of the richest and most highly civilised capital of Europe, exposed the youth to the usual moral dangers of great cities. And the academicians here were not lodged, as in Oxford, apart in halls or hospitia, but in the houses of the citizens; and, according to the (somewhat rhetorical, however) description of one who had himself been

[1] Du Theil. Vie de Rob. de Courcon.

educated there,[1] in one and the same tenement the business of the schools might be going on in an upper storey, while beneath, on the ground floor, were the haunts of vice. Abundance, too, tempted to excess and debauch, and plunged the impatient and tumultuous youth into those serious frays with the townspeople, or between jealous "nations," of which we hear from the very first origin of universities.[2]

But the teacher also had his danger. Love of lucre seduced the more sordid to coin their skill or reputation into gold. Many, again, capable of thoughts above this world, were assailed by the enemy of souls by other arts, to which some of the most illustrious fell a prey. No period of the Christian world has witnessed a greater ferment of intellect, more eager zeal in the pursuit of knowledge, more ardour of scientific inquiry, than did the commencement of the scholastic age. As to the *material* of knowledge, the recovery of the Roman Law, the Græco-Arabian natural history and medicine, and the fresh streams of every sort poured in from the East, opened new fields of attainment, which made the narrow limits of the old Trivium and Quadrivium seem contemptible.[3] And as to the intellectual spirit, a new instrument of philosophical speculation was put into their hands by the Aristotelian logic, capable of application to every subject-matter. It seemed for some time doubtful whether, as was the case in the next crisis of thought, three centuries later, this intel-

[1] Jacob. a Vitr.

[2] Hurt. i. 16.

[3] See Huber on Univ. ch. i.

lectual movement would not carry those who shared in it beyond the definitions of the Faith, and the limits of the Church; and her final and complete victory, by which she enlisted heathen wisdom in her service, was not secured before many, like Arnold of Brescia, had been swept beyond her saving ark into the sea of error. The danger of speculation outstripping the expansion of heavenly verities God averted from His Church by the instrumentality of St. Bernard, and the great school doctors who followed him, as is well known. But the same cause which threatened the Church at large introduced a practical evil into each one of the seats of learning. Indeed, the universities through their whole history, though externally part of the Church system, legislated for by councils, and under the especial patronage of popes, never seem thoroughly incorporated into the Church. They wear an Arabian aspect, or remind us of Athens or Alexandria, the Sophists, and the Neoplatonists. They found their most genial soil in Spain, where, at an early period, elegant literature and profound science reached, in the Hebrew and Moslem universities, a degree of development which those of Christendom only attained within the last three centuries. For the first time in the Christian world, men saw an education, professing to train the intellect, disregarding the discipline of the soul. The highest exercise of the human mind is the contemplation of verities, in which the whole affections of the heart are constantly absorbed. The object of the cloister is to form men to this, the really philosophical mind. The logical, active in-

tellect, which is ever seeking to give reasons for a faith which, during its efforts, is eluding its view, is that which the university tended to foster. Hence the contrast between the old monastic and cathedral schools and the new universities,—hence the struggles in the bosom of the University of Paris between the Dominicans and the secular regents, which fill its annals during the thirteenth century. It is true that St. Thomas subdued even the schools to the obedience of Christ, and made Aristotle, like the toiling genius of Arabian fable, the reluctant slave of a master of another and higher race. But, though philosophy and faith were thus reconciled in the abstract, the universities in practice remained on the world's side. They might teach the Summa, but they sided with Henry VIII. Not only many of the heresies of the thirteenth century sprang directly from them, but, what is more, the whole heretical temper throughout found in them its support and home. A feeling of this evil tendency dictated the founding of the college of the Sorbonne, from which all study save that of theology was to be excluded. "To what end," said its founder, Robert, "serve Priscian, Justinian, Gratian, and Aristotle?" And the whole feeling of religious men in the thirteenth century towards the scholastic philosophy—forced to tolerate it, but watching it with a jealous eye,—was exactly what had been expressed in earlier times towards heathen literature by St. Jerome and St. Gregory.[1]

And accordingly in Paris at this time, all the evil attendant on a disproportionate development of the

[1] Vid. Hieron. ad Eustoch. i. 51.

intellect was rife in the university. Self-reliance and independence of mind, the pride of science, which forgets God,—the conceit of attainments and vanity of display, which contemns men,—with the meaner passions of jealousy, envy, and detraction, were evils most prominent.[1] To combat and correct this intellectual pride, Divine Providence was pleased to make use of the preaching of a humble and unlettered country priest.

"In those days the God of heaven stirred up the spirit of a certain country priest, a simple man, and untaught, Fulk by name, and curate of Neuilly, near Paris. For, as of old he chose fishermen and unlearned, that that glory which was his own might not be given to another; so now, when his little ones were asking bread, but the learned, intent on vain wranglings and disputes of words, cared not to break it for them, the Lord made choice of this priest, like a star beaming through a mist, a shower in a long drought, like another Shamgar, to slay many with the ploughshare of skill-less preaching." This man, feeling shame for his ignorance of holy Scripture, determined, old as he was, to do what he could to remedy this defect; so he began to go regularly into the city to attend the lectures in theology. He frequented the celebrated Peter the Chanter, "of whom, as of a spring of most pure water, the above-mentioned Fulk sought to drink; so, entering in humble sort the school with his note-book and pen, he carried away some few trite maxims and practical, such as his capacity served

[1] Sibi invidebant, scholares aliorum blanditiis attrahebant, gloriam propriam quærentes. Jacob. a Vitr.

him to gather from the mouth of the lecturer. He would oft ponder on them, and commit them firmly to memory: and on the festivals, returning to his parish, he carefully dispensed to his flock what he had thus industriously gathered. And now at first, on the invitation of priests, his neighbours, he began in fear and modesty to deliver in the vulgar tongue to simple lay folk the words he had heard, like another Amos, 'a herdsman, and gatherer of sycamore fruit.'[1] His discerning master, noting his poor and illiterate pupil's zeal and fervour, and embracing with the bowels of love his faith and devotion, compelled him to preach before himself and divers learned scholars at Paris, in the church of St. Severin. And the Lord gave to his new knight so great grace and power, that both his master and the rest also testified that the Holy Spirit spake in and through him; and thenceforward others, teachers and learners alike, began to flock to his rude and simple preaching. One invited another, saying, Come and hear the priest Fulk, who is another Paul.

"On a day when a vast concourse, both clergy and the common folk, were gathered to him in a great square of the city, called Champel, the Lord opened their understandings to understand the Scriptures; and the Lord gave such grace to his word, that many, touched, yea pierced to the heart, presented themselves before him stripped and unsandalled, bearing in their hands rods or thongs, and, confessing their sins before all, submitted themselves to his will and guidance. . . . Such power

[1] Amos vii. 14.

did the Lord add to his words, that the masters of the university and the scholars, now changing places, brought note-books to his preaching, and took down his words out of his mouth."[1] Another contemporary adds, "The masters he exhorted to give pithy, wholesome, and profitable lectures, in the fear of the Lord; the logicians also he admonished to put away what profited not, and to retain in their art only what was of good fruit; the decretists he reproved for their long and wearisome harmonies of cases; the theologians for their tediousness and subtleties; and so the teachers of the other arts in like manner he rebuked, and calling them off from what was vain and profitless, brought them to teach and handle things necessary."[2]

Such was the agent in this commotion of spirits that agitated the university in the last years of the twelfth century, a prelude to the greater reformation wrought not long after by Reginald and the Dominican preachers: all of them instruments in God's hands to save souls from the perils of study; to remind the scholar that the wisdom of the wise and the understanding of the prudent are foolishness in God's sight. And among others who joined themselves to Fulk were the two celebrated Englishmen, Robert de Courcon and Stephen Langton, both of them at different times called by Innocent to Rome, and advanced to the dignity of cardinal.

This was Langton's position at Paris. And when it is added, that he was made a prebend of York, afterwards of Notre Dame, and in 1206 promoted

[1] Jacob. a Vitr. Hist. Occ. p. 281.
[2] Otho de S. Blasio. c. 47.

by Innocent to be Cardinal Priest of S. Chrysogonus, all has been told that is now known of him, previous to his election to Canterbury.[1] To see how this came to be, we must now turn our eyes to England—England under John.

[1] Note (b) at the end.

CHAPTER II

THE Church and King of those days seem antagonist notions. One can hardly tell how the Catholic Church and a Norman or Plantagenet sovereign coexisted in the same society. Their mutual tendency was to destroy each other. The balance was preserved by an alternation of success. The Church protested, entreated, submitted, secularised herself; would seem for a while identified with the world, and the King was pleased: but the more she yielded, the more he exacted, till some vital point was touched; then a persecution—and a confessor or a martyr was raised up, and the spiritual fire was again kindled, and the lost ground regained. The war which pagan powers had waged against Apostolic doctrine, feudal powers continued against Apostolic polity. England's only martyr from the Conquest to the Reformation fell in that cause, which is the one subject of English Church history, the independence of the Spiritual power.

The contrast is heightened by the personal character of these sovereigns. In the annals of all Christian nations we read of no such dynasty of tyrants, unless perhaps the early Merovingian princes. Violence, rapine, cruelty, and lust were their habitual daily occupation. Every passion uncurbed, every foul vice that pollutes humanity

was to be found with them. Plucking out eyes, lopping off the hands and feet, were their pastime. Tall of stature, and of great strength, the truculent and bloodshot eye speaking the habitual excess that fed the corpulent and bloated frame, the king might seem some beast of prey roaming at large, working his will among men, a living embodiment of the principle of evil. The taunt of the King of France on the Conqueror's huge size is well known. At his burial the grave was too narrow, and the corpse burst in the attempt to thrust it in. When Baldwin of Flanders refused him his daughter Matilda, William forced his way into the chamber of the princess, took her by the hair, dragged her to the door, and trampled her under his feet. Rufus's debaucheries are not to be even mentioned, and could not be practised but in the darkness of night; for it is told, with approbation, of Henry I., that he restored the use of lights in the court. Henry I. and John brought on their deaths by acts of voracious gluttony. It needed little stretch of imagination in the romance writer to fancy Richard feeding with glee on a Saracen's skull.

> "An hot head bring me beforn,
> Eat thereof fast I shall
> As it were a tender chick."

Ever since their first settlement in Gaul the most part of the Norman dukes had been bastards.[1]

And there was this aggravation in the case, that our kings were not like the early Roman emperors, shut up in their palaces, surrounded and restrained

[1] See Michelet. Hist. de France, vol. iii. 55.

by the etiquette of a civilised court; the frenzied debauchery of Commodus, or Caligula, or the more refined voluptuousness of Nero, was their occupation, engrossed their thoughts and energies.[1] The Norman king was actual as well as nominal sovereign of his realm; his own minister, all matters, all persons came under his eye; his tyranny was exercised not towards the slaves and minions of a palace, but towards the worthiest of his people; his sensual notions and brutal passions were directed upon the highest interests of policy or of religion. They were all great men, and fought for great matters—wickedness in a truly royal shape.

At the accession of John (1199) the State was predominant. The invigorating effect of the blood of the blessed martyr St. Thomas was passing away. Every success contains the seeds of its own ruin. So noble an example of resisting unto blood for the sake of things unseen, had renovated the spiritual sense of the clergy; and the sacrilegious murder, by the shock it gave men's minds, arrested them forcibly on the point for which the resistance had been made. But no sooner had revived virtue in the priests, and quickened sympathy in the people, wrought their natural effect—that of giving peace and honour to the Church, than its decline began; the clergy returned to their secular lives, the king to his oppressions.

In no particular was this oppression more practically felt than in the choice of bishops. The *regale*

[1] "It had been in the worst of times the consolation of the Romans, that the virtue of the emperors was active, and their vice indolent." Gibbon, chap. vi.

worked badly here. It was not less an infraction of the Church's rights under wise and religious monarchs, but it was less felt then. The disease insinuated itself under an Edward the Confessor, and developed its virus under a Rufus. The Pope could not have made better bishops than the Conqueror. "Only strive to attain perfection," said Charlemagne to his clergy, "and I will give you most magnificent bishoprics and monasteries."[1] But now religious men were quite passed by, under the plausible pretext of their unfitness for business, and the most noisy, pushing intriguer among the king's clerks was preferred. Richard selected for qualifications still less ecclesiastical. When he had to fill up the see of Canterbury while absent on the Crusade, he cast his eye on Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury. "Hubert was very gracious in the eyes of all the host that lay before Acre, and in warlike things so magnificent, that he was admired even by King Richard. He was in stature tall, in council prudent, and though not having the gift of eloquence, he was of an able and shrewd wit. His mind was more on human than on Divine things, and he knew all the laws of the realm. So that he, with Ralph de Glanville, might be said to rule the kingdom, for Ralph used his counsel in all things."[2] His essays in school-learning afforded some amusement at Rome. Giraldus, the satirical Arch-deacon of St. David's, makes the Pope (Celestine) say, "Now let us talk of your archbishop's grammar-

[1] Ad perfectum attingere studete, et dabo vobis Episcopia et Monasteria permagnifica.—Chron. S. Gall.

[2] Gervas. 1679.

learning, how he preached in the synod, and how on Palm Sunday he distinguished the persons in the Trinity."[1] He adds: "He was indeed a man of a notable activity and spirit, but forasmuch as he was neither gifted with a knowledge of letters, nor endued (I doubt) with the grace of lively religion, so neither in his days did the Church of England breathe again from the yoke of bondage."[2]

Almost one of Innocent's first acts had been to require Hubert to resign the office of High Justiciary which he had held together with his see. But this could but palliate the evil; it required to be met by stronger and more searching remedies: and an opportunity soon offered. Hubert Walter died in July 1205, to the great relief of the king (John). For, worldly and little scrupulous as this prelate was, his character was so energetic, and his influence and authority so great, that they constituted a check which John could not brook. The acquaintance with state affairs which he had gained as chief administrator during Richard's captivity, and the obligation he had laid John under, as having been the chief means of getting him the crown, contributed to render him independent. No man was more thoroughly aware of the false position which the metropolitan occupied, and his dereliction of his real duty, than that very temporal master himself, to whose service he sacrificed his duty towards his Heavenly Master. "So much for him!" he

[1] Girald. ap. Dart. Hist. Canterbury.

[2] Giraldus, indeed, retracted in his later years some of the hard things he had said of the archbishop; but his general account is fully borne out by Gervase, who is not unfavourable to him.

exclaimed, with a savage laugh, when told of the death of Fitz-Peter, the Justiciary, "the first person he will meet in hell will be my Chancellor, Hubert."

He died at Teynham, in Kent, and immediately on the news reaching Canterbury, before the body was buried, a part of the chapter made a bold and hazardous attempt to vindicate their freedom. The chapter of the cathedral church of Canterbury was composed, it will be remembered, of a prior and one hundred and fifty Benedictine monks. This had been one of Lanfranc's greatest reforms. He had suppressed the Saxon secular canons, and introduced the monastic rule. Such a change was then the greatest benefit that could be conferred on a diocese. They had no abbot; the archbishop representing the abbot externally, though the internal government of the monastery rested with the prior. A party among the monks, chiefly consisting of the younger brethren, held a meeting in the church in the middle of the night, and elected their sub-prior, Reginald, with the usual formalities of chanting the "Te Deum," and placing him first on the main altar, and then on the metropolitan throne. Their haste and secrecy was not with a view to forestall the king, but the suffragan bishops, who never failed on such occasions to put forward their claim. Conscious that their act was irregular, they saw that their only chance was to get a confirmation from the Holy See. They sent off Reginald the same night to Rome, accompanied by several of the monks. He carried letters of ratification under the common seal of the convent, which they had found means

to procure, but had taken an oath not to use them, or to conduct himself as archbishop elect without special licence and letters from the convent. But no sooner had he landed in Flanders, than, disregarding his oath, he announced himself publicly as the elect of Canterbury, on his road to Rome for confirmation. He even openly exhibited the letters of election whenever he thought it would serve his cause to do so. He pursued the same conduct on his arrival at Rome, and, as though there had been no hindrance or objection, he demanded immediate confirmation. Something, however, led the court of Rome to suspect irregularity, and confirmation was suspended till further information should arrive from England.

The first person to present himself at Rome was an envoy of the suffragans, maintaining that an election at which they had not assisted was null and void. To put an end, once for all, to a dispute which was renewed on the death of every archbishop, it was resolved that the question should be now solemnly tried and adjudicated. To give ample time for examining witnesses and collecting evidence, the month of May following was appointed for the sentence.

Meanwhile the news of Reginald's faithless conduct had excited the liveliest indignation among his supporters in the convent of Christ Church. Both parties accordingly agreed to proceed more regularly to a new election, and sent in haste to John for his permission to elect. This was in fact allowing the king to nominate; for the form of permission was always accompanied by a recom-

mendation, which electors very rarely, and under pressing circumstances only, ever dared to disregard. The king's choice was John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich (1200—1214), a courtier and a politician, of useful, rather than splendid talent, and thoroughly pliant to the king's will. The elder and safer party in the convent had by this time recovered their ascendancy; the younger champions of independence were alarmed at their own boldness, and were glad to shelter themselves in silence. The king's mandate was received with obsequious respect, and a ready and even joyful acceptance was affected of a prelate whose character they must have viewed with contempt. He was in the north at the time, engaged on the king's business. On the receipt of the news he hastened to Canterbury, and on the 2nd of December the king himself came there, caused him to be enthroned, and invested with the temporalities.

The convent at home having been thus frightened into submission, it was only necessary to defeat the representations which Reginald and his party might make at Rome. The king kept his Christmas court at Oxford, and from thence despatched a monk of Canterbury, by name Elias de Brantfield, with five companions, to Rome, furnishing them not only with the expenses of the journey, but also, it was said, with a large sum (eleven thousand marks[1]) to obtain from the Holy See the confirmation of the Bishop of Norwich. But though a body of helpless monks — even so intractable a body as the Christ Church Benedictines sometimes showed

[1] Gesta Innocent.

themselves — shrunk before the king's frown, and would willingly have recalled their act; it was now too late, the matter had got beyond their hands. Reginald's election, though irregular, was a fact, and was in court, and so must be disposed of one way or other before any further valid step could be taken in the business.

But the whole of this year was occupied in taking evidence in England on the preliminary dispute between the convent and the suffragans. All this care was used that the point might be set at rest for ever, for it was simple enough in itself. On the 21st of December the court gave its sentence. The suffragans showed that on three different occasions they had shared in the election of metropolitan. On the other hand, the Chapter proved that from remote times the convent had been used to elect, in their own chapter, without the presence of the bishops, and that elections so made had been confirmed. And custom had been ratified by a Papal bull which was produced. A definitive sentence was accordingly given, affirming the exclusive privilege of the prior and convent to elect the metropolitan, and forbidding the bishops to make any attempt in future to interfere.

But another and very distinct suit was now to come on—that between the two prelates elect. The case of John de Gray was easily disposed of. While a cause was pending before any court of law, no act which anticipated that court's sentence was legal. His election, therefore, which took place before the first was annulled, was *ipso facto* null and void. The court was now approaching ground

which might involve it with the King of England, and it was necessary to proceed with the utmost circumspection. It was foreseen on both sides that Reginald's election must be annulled when it should come to be tried; and whilst the king's party proposed to take advantage of this to re-elect John de Gray, Innocent saw in it an opportunity for extricating the English Church from the yoke of royal nominations.

In the first ages of the Church the bishop was chosen by the voices of the whole of the flock which he was to govern, laity as well as clergy, under the advice and superintendence of the bishops of the province, or the neighbourhood. St. Cyprian directs,[1] "Take heed that ye observe the Divine traditions and Apostolic usage for the orderly holding of elections.[2] Let the neighbouring bishops of the province assemble to that flock over whom the bishop is to be ordained, and let the bishop be chosen in the presence of the people, which most fully knows each one's manner of life, and is witness of his whole conduct and behaviour." After Constantine, the emperors often interfered in disputed cases; and in the West, from the time of Charlemagne it became an established maxim of the canon law, that no election was valid to which the prince did not give his consent.

Three principal causes may be assigned which seemed to have obliged the Church to submit to this innovation in her practice. 1. The maxim of

[1] Ep. 68.

[2] Ordinatio, as χειροτονία in the Apost. Can. includes *election* and *ordination*.

law, that the right of patronage followed endowment, which was admitted to encourage private persons to give their property to parish churches, might seem equitably to require to be extended to cathedral churches, which were generally endowed by princes. 2. When ecclesiastical censures were allowed to carry temporal penalties, and spiritual sentences were enforced by the hand of power, the bishop became, so far, a state officer. 3. Under Charlemagne, and in the feudal system, endowments were given by the prince and accepted by the bishop as benefices, property requiring service; and this relation to the king would naturally come to seem to him closer and more binding than the relation of the bishop to his particular flock.

But the utmost extent of interference which the canons approved was a negative one; it made the royal consent necessary to an election independently made. It is needless to say how often this consent was in practice converted into an appointment; but the Church's right to free election was still maintained, even when wholly resigned in fact; the term "canonical election" so often occurring, meaning, as nearly as we can define it, election by the clergy of the Church, in the presence of the people, with the approbation of the bishops of the province, subject to the king's consent. The language of councils is various; sometimes absolutely asserting independence, sometimes absolutely resigning it, and condemning sometimes the prince who gave, sometimes the priest who sought, such appointments. Even in special grants of free election which were sometimes made, care is taken to

insert a clause that the king gave the privilege, not as bestowing any new favour, but as chief defender of the Church's liberties.[1]

The Conquest made little change in this respect. If we examine such notices as remain of the elections of the ten Norman archbishops who preceded Langton, we shall find that the monks, though they had to contend against the suffragans as well as the king, never failed to claim, often to put in force, their right to election; and even when finally accepting the king's nominee, they proceeded to a fresh election of him in their own chapter. So that a chapter which should seize a favourable opportunity, while the king was absent, or otherwise occupied, of electing a prelate by themselves and should get him confirmed, would, in so doing, be acting perfectly according to law; while on the other hand, the king might, with some colour of justice, complain that such a step was an invasion of a customary prerogative. And this was exactly what fell out in the present instance.

Like all other important causes, this one passed through the searching process and cautious procedure which gave so high a character to the judgments of the court of Rome, and that not least during the time that the presiding judge was one so deeply versed in canon law as Innocent III. That neither the king nor the king's party in the convent might have it in their power to object afterwards that the election had been made without

[1] The evidence on both sides is collected by Gratian (Distinct. lxiii.), who sums up the result much as is stated in the text.

their participation, he summoned both of them to send to Rome envoys with full powers. During the interval, the Bishop of Rochester and the Abbot of St. Augustine's were to examine all the religious of Christ Church on oath, as to the manner in which the late double election had been conducted. A new deputation of fifteen monks[1] appeared at Rome, entrusted with full powers over their society in regard of election, and also with the king's promise to accept whoever they should elect; he having, however, it was said,[2] bound them by an oath to choose John de Gray.

When the validity of the sub-prior's election came to be tried, over and above the pleas that it had been made by night, by a minority of the convent, and that not the more judicious part,[3] and without the king's consent, they now added, that they had sent him to Rome only as an envoy to oppose the nomination of John de Gray, binding him by a solemn oath, on pain of damnation, only to make use of the deed of election in the last extremity—*i.e.* in case the Pope should show an inclination to accept the person proposed by the king. Early in 1207 sentence was given; the first election was pronounced invalid, and the deputies proceeded to a new election. With the fear of the king before their eyes, and aware of his determination in favour of the Bishop of Norwich, they showed a disposition to re-elect him. But the sentence of annulment which had been pronounced of his first election contained, as usual, a clause forbidding his

[1] Quindecim, Gesta; duodecim, Paris.
[2] Matt. Paris. [3] Saniori parte.

aspiring in future to the honours of the archbishopric. This obstacle could only be removed by a dispensation. And there were important reasons which determined Innocent not to grant that dispensation. The candidate was one of the chaplains and dependants of the king. The court of the King of England was a bad school for an ecclesiastic. A strange bishop out of the palace of the Frank kings[1] was not more dreaded by the Roman inhabitants of a city of Gaul, than was one of the king's clerks by the Saxon inmates of an English monastery. But not the Church of Canterbury only, but the whole Church of England was delivered bound into the hands of an enemy, if they should have imposed on them, as their chief pastor, one who on theory renounced his own spiritual authority, and was willing to be forced into a see by the strong hand of power. And such a one as John de Gray, whose only capacity was for the business of the world, would be compelled almost to follow the steps of Hubert, who, as Justiciary and Chancellor, had acted rather as a treasurer or bailiff to the estates of the see, than as a prelate to whom was committed the guardianship of the guardians of souls.

But if De Gray was to be excluded, it was necessary to propose as a substitute one who should be every way unexceptionable—one who, while qualified by character, should be neither unknown nor unacceptable to the king. With this view he pointed out to the envoys Stephen Langton, who, as a native of England, and holding preferment there, had, in this

[1] E palatio.

respect, all that could be thought necessary. Even since his promotion to the cardinalate, which had taken place this year, John had himself written to him in very flattering terms, to say, that though he had for some time had his eye on him with the intention of calling him to immediate attendance on himself, he was yet pleased to hear of his high honours. The monks (Elias de Brantfield alone excepted) consented, Langton was elected, and Innocent wrote conciliatory letters to the king and the convent to prepare them to receive the new metropolitan. "The Apostolic See," he told the king, "might justly envy his kingdom the possession of a man mighty in word and deed both before God and before man, eminent both for his learning and his life; but his care for the interests of the see of Canterbury had prevailed over personal ties. But that, in consulting the good of the Church of Canterbury, he had not neglected the king's honour, for the new archbishop was by birth an Englishman of a family known for their fidelity and devotion to him." And he besought him most urgently, "for God's honour and by the intercession of St. Thomas, to spare the liberty of a Church which had endured so many troubles, and to accord his favour to the new primate."

A pope writing to a king in a matter ecclesiastical might well have used a higher tone; but he thought fit to adapt himself to the gross and worldly views of the monarch. John saw nothing but his will thwarted, and his right, as he thought, invaded. His rage was stirred, and his revenge was prompt. The monks of Canterbury were his first thought, and they

were in his power. They had committed treason, he said. They had first made an election without his licence, which prejudiced his prerogative; and now, when they had received money from his treasury to procure the confirmation of the Bishop of Norwich, they had elected instead a known enemy of his own, Cardinal Langton. A knight, Fulk de Cantelupe by name, a ready agent where violence was to supersede law, hastened from his side. He summoned the sheriff of Kent, Henry de Cornhelle, with a party of armed retainers. The monks might prepare for the worst when they saw the men of blood, "who knew not civil usages,"[1] enter the cloister sword in hand. But St. Thomas had taught princes a lesson of policy at least. Even John would not make any more martyrs. Exile was the worst —exile from home—no, out of the kingdom they must go, and that forthwith; the King would not have *his* abbeys harbour traitors. If they did not move quickly, they should be burnt out. In terror and confusion, with no time for deliberation, they complied and withdrew—unadvisedly, it was afterwards thought; nothing short of actual force should have moved them. Barefoot, amid the tears and sobs of the bystanders,[2] seventy Benedictines and one hundred lay brothers,[3] took leave of their church and cloister, and passed the sea into Flanders; thirteen, from age or sickness, were unable to accompany them. The monks of the king's party were equally involved in the proscription, but, though

[1] Milites crudelissimi, humanitatis ignari. W.
[2] Cont. Hov.
[3] Chron. S. Bertini. ap. M. & D. iii. 687.

driven from the kingdom, they were ashamed to share the refuge of those whose cause they had not shared.[1] For a refuge was prepared for them. The usual landing-place from England was Wissant, between Calais and Boulogne, the port from which Julius Cæsar had sailed. No sooner had they set foot on shore, than they were met by the pious Count of Gisnes. He brought them to his castle, set food before them, served them with his own hands, and provided beasts and waggons to carry them to St. Omer's. O worthy hospitality of the Christian noble! — careful to entertain strangers; lending to those of whom he could not borrow again. To St. Omer's these disciples of St. Thomas, treading in his steps, took their way. All along their route the religious of every order issued from their cloisters, with cross, tapers, and incense. Their entry into the city of Audomarus, the apostle of Flanders, was a procession. The whole body found entertainment and consolation for twelve days with the brethren of St. Bertin's. The prior, with sixteen of his monks, remained there a whole year; the rest were quartered in the various religious houses of the neighbourhood. Langton afterwards removed them into other monasteries in France. This hospitable conduct was visited upon them by John by the confiscation of all the property they held in England. On the other hand, the Pope rewarded it by a special letter of thanks and approbation.

Meanwhile Fulk and his foreign mercenaries revelled in the cloister of Christ Church. He had the

[1] Exceptis nonnullis pestilentibus et dyscolis, qui sicut matrem in tribulatione, sic fratres deseruerunt in peregrinatione. Cont. Hov.

custody or wardship of the goods and lands both of the see and the convent. The lands remained untilled; but even the impious king had, in a way, a respect for holy things; he dared not cause the daily office to cease in the church, which contained the still energising remains of the holy martyr. The Brabantines might keep guard in the refectory, but pilgrims would still throng to the undercroft, and their prayers would still be heard. A tyrant may persecute the clergy, he dare not interfere with the religion of the people. By the king's order, some religious were transferred from the Abbey of St. Augustine to minister in the cathedral.

Having vented his rage on the monks, John now threatened the Pope. "He had been insulted," he said, "by the rejection of the Bishop of Norwich, his fast friend, and the attempt to force upon him one Stephen of Langton, a total stranger to him, of whom all he knew was, that he had lived long among his public enemies in France. He could not enough marvel at the thoughtlessness of the Court of Rome herein, that it should so lightly forget how needful to it was his love and attachment, seeing that it drew more abundant revenue out of his kingdom than out of all the countries beyond the Alps." He added: "that he would stand to the death, if need were, for the liberties of his Crown; and that his unalterable resolve was, not to recede from the appointment of John de Gray, which he had ascertained was for his realm's welfare. If he was not humoured in this matter, he would cut off all communication with Rome; neither should his realm be drained of its wealth, nor his subjects, whether in

England, or in any other part of his dominions, seek at a foreigner's hands that justice which his own bishops had learning and knowledge enough to administer."

Innocent was not taken by surprise. Before proceeding so far, he had counted on being opposed with the king's whole strength, and he was ready to meet it. On the 16th of June he consecrated Langton with his own hands at Viterbo. He remonstrated with John "on the violent and unbecoming language in which he had answered his conciliatory application. It was rather to the honour than the blame of Langton that he had devoted himself to study at Paris with such success, that he had attained the degree of Doctor, not only in Arts but in Theology, and that his life agreeing with his learning, he had been promoted to a prebend in that cathedral. His distinction in the university made it incredible he should be unknown to the king, at least by reputation. The king had himself written him letters of compliment on his promotion. The known loyalty of his family, and his prebend in the church of York, which was of much greater value and dignity than that of Paris,[1] were sufficient answer to the charge of his being alien to the king, and the king's realm. There was an unworthy imputation on his personal character, which the king had not thought fit to write, but had not disdained to suggest through his messenger; it was so manifestly false, that it was not thought worth while to deny it. Lastly, as to the plea of the king's licence to elect had not been asked: 1. Neither law nor custom

[1] Paris was not a metropolitan see till 1623.

required this when an election was made at the Apostolic See; yet, 2, though the Pope had in this instance plenary power over the Church of Canterbury, he had so far deferred to the king's honour as to make a formal application to the king to send his proctor to the election. And though it was true that the two monks charged with this message had been detained at Dover, their despatches had been handed over to the king's own messengers. And, last of all, after the election, the Papal courier had delivered to the king himself letters both of the Apostolic See and of the monks, asking the king's consent to the election. It was impossible, therefore, without injury both to his character and conscience, that the Pope could now refrain from confirming and enforcing an election which, both in form and the fitness of the person chosen, was canonical, and that he could suffer the Church of Canterbury to be any longer without a shepherd. Do you, then," he concludes, "most dear son, whose honour we have considered beyond what was needful, show to our honour at least due deference, that you may deserve more abundantly Heaven's and our grace, lest haply by other manner of conduct you bring yourself into a strait, out of which you may not easily draw yourself. Needs must He prevail to whom is bowed every knee, whose place we, though unworthy, occupy on earth. Be not, then, governed by their counsels who seek to trouble you, that they may the better fish in troubled waters; but commit yourself to our pleasure in this instance, and it shall redound to your praise. It cannot be safe for you to withstand that Church for which the blessed

martyr and glorious high priest, Thomas, hath newly shed his blood; since, too, your father and brother, of renowned memory, somewhile kings of England, renounced that evil custom in the hands of our legates. If you shall in humility submit to us, we shall take care that no prejudice shall be done herein to you or yours."

This letter to the king was accompanied by others to the barons, and to the bishops. "The present cause," he wrote to the latter, "was not that of an individual, but of the whole Church. In such a cause they should rejoice to suffer persecution, if necessary; remembering, that blessed are they who suffer for righteousness' sake, when they are tried they shall receive a crown of life. If they had truly at heart the cause of Christ, he would give them strength and fortitude to fear God more than man, and respect their Heavenly King rather than their earthly prince. Let them, with every instance of timely urgency, strive to turn the king away from his purpose, not fearing to offend him for the moment. For such counsellors as should encourage him now in his evil designs, he himself, when he came to a better mind, would ever after hold cheap, but would esteem such as should now suggest good to him."

Towards the end of the year he commissioned the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to make a final attempt to soften the king,—to admonish him, for his soul's health, not to fight against God; empowering them, should he persist in obduracy, to lay the whole of England under an Interdict.

The three Bishops obtained admission to the king's

presence. They besought him humbly, and with abundance of tears, that having God before his eyes, he would avoid the shame of an Interdict. He need but admit the Archbishop and allow the monks to return, and all would be well. And what was there so great in that? They prayed that for this, He who recompenses good deserts, might be pleased to multiply his temporal power, and bestow never-ending glory after this life. They would have prolonged their entreaties out of love for his soul, but the king broke into one of his furious fits of passion. He cursed the Pope and the cardinals, and swore by God's teeth, that if his realm was interdicted he would drive the whole clergy, secular and regular, out of it. He would take all they possessed, and they might go to the Pope if they would. And as for the Roman clergy, if he caught any in any part of his dominions, he would pluck out their eyes and cut off their noses, and send them to Rome in that condition, that they might be known there from those of all other nations. And he recommended the three bishops, if they would avoid some such scandal in their own persons, to quit his presence immediately.

The bishops could not doubt John's sincerity in this. His paroxysms of ungovernable rage were terrible. One who knew him when Earl of Mortaigne,[1] describes it as "something beyond anger: his whole body was metamorphosed. His face was drawn up into deep furrows, his eyes gleamed with fire, a livid hue took the place of colour. Well do I know what would have become of the chancellor, if in the hour of his rage he had gotten him be-

[1] Ric. Divisiens. p. 31.

tween his hands." There was something unearthly in the frenzy of the Plantagenet princes. They themselves were aware of this, and believed it to arise from a real admixture of demoniacal blood in their race. Richard I. used frequently to relate a family tradition, in explanation of the headstrong disposition of himself and his brothers. "From the devil we came," he would say, "and to him we go." There was once a Countess of Anjou of uncommon beauty. She seldom went to church, and even then avoided staying for the celebration of the holy mysteries. The count her husband took notice of this, and suspected something amiss. One day he caused her to be held by four of his guards; when, not being able to endure the consecration of the host, she rose through the air, leaving her cloak in their hands, and was no more seen.[1]

There is, indeed, a diseased impotence of passion incident to minds withdrawn from the restraint which the presence of equals exerts even over those who have the misfortune to want the self-control that moral or religious habits give. The exercise of despotic authority is a great promoter of this disease. It may be a species of mania peculiar to absolute princes. Cambyses, several of the early emperors of Rome, Nadir Shah, and the Emperor Paul, are cases in point. "The wrath of kings is as the roaring of a lion," says the Book of Proverbs. When Nebuchadnezzar was "full of fury," the "form of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego." Such passages might have a terrible reality in oriental monarchs.

[1] Fordun. Scotichron. Johan. Brompton.

One in that condition, however, was not to be reasoned with: the bishops withdrew in haste. They delayed the sentence still, in fond hopes that the royal mind would open to better thoughts. When they could no longer withhold it, they again met, and on Monday in Holy Week (1208), which happened to be the vigil of the Annunciation, they proclaimed the sentence of general Interdict over the whole of England.

From that moment all spiritual acts must cease; all visible intercourse between heaven and earth was suspended, and the Church withdrawn from the kingdom,—or rather, its life and soul were withdrawn, while the body remained. As an ecclesiastical act, the features which most struck the minds of the country people were, that the daily sacrifice ceased, the doors of the churches were shut against them; that the dead were carried outside the town-gates and buried in ditches and road-sides, without prayer or priest's offices. The images of apostles and saints were taken down or veiled; the frequent tinkle of the convent bell no longer told the serf at the plough how the weary day was passing, or guided the traveller through the forest to a shelter for the night. Religion, wont to mix with and hallow each hour of the day, each action of life, was totally withdrawn. The state of the country resembled a raid of the Danes, or the days of old Saxon heathendom, before Augustine had set up the Cross at Canterbury, or holy men had penetrated the forest and the fen.[1]

[1] Nudata stabant altaria et lugubrem desolationem præferebant; non assuetorum devota cantuum resonabat modulatio, nec consolatoria campanarum audita est dulcedo. Coldingham, p. 25.

CHAPTER III

An Interdict, to those who read history with eyes hostile to the Church, must appear the most audacious form of spiritual tyranny; but, in fact, such persons renounce *any* real application of the power of binding and loosing in Heaven. But even Catholic Christians of this day, to whom the Church's power of delivering the disobedient to Satan for the punishment of the flesh, is an article of living practical belief, yet shrink from so sweeping an application of it, and have a secret feeling against the Interdict as a harsh and cruel measure. It is, they say, to involve the innocent with the guilty—nay, rather, to let the guilty escape, and to inflict his punishment on innocent thousands. Indeed, we must go further; for, with the firm belief which those ages had in the real effect of absolution and excommunication, if the Interdict was not completely agreeable to mercy and justice, it was no less than a wanton trifling with the power they believed themselves to hold from Christ. Thus many speak of the Pope of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as an ambitious despot, who in his struggle for the mastery with temporal princes was as reckless of the souls of his spiritual troops as Napoleon was of the bodies and lives of his soldiers. With one who entertains such thoughts we care not to

argue; but to the obedient Christian, who loves the Church and her ancient ways, and is puzzled to reconcile the Interdict with her tenderness towards the little ones of Christ's flock, the following may be suggested:—

The Interdict, then, was a measure of mercy, an appeal, on its Divine side, to Providence; on its human side, to all the generous feelings of the heart. For that age did not doubt that the magistrate, as well as the people, the governor as well as the governed, was subject to the one law of Christ. It could not imagine one moral law for the magistrate, and another for the subject. The one was as obnoxious to sin and error as the other; and was there to be no one to warn, to rebuke, to recall into the paths of truth the one as well as the other? Or was the prince alone, whose duties and responsibilities, as they were more and greater, involved more risk of spiritual fall than any, to be the only Christian left without the defence of confession, or the gracious means of restoration provided by penance? The law of God, the law of the Church, looked at the sin, not at the sinner; the distinctions of worldly rank are not contemplated in its spiritual jurisdiction. A prince, in becoming a Christian, in entering the Christian society, submits to all its rules, as fully as any other person, and the administrator of those rules is bound to enforce them on the prince as much as on any other. As these rules are only such as are necessary to the end of the Church, the saving the souls of its members, they do not admit in their own nature of relaxation, but are permanent and universal. The

submission of the prince to spiritual discipline cannot be altered by the admission of the Church to a place and power in the state, for such submission is of the essence of that discipline. Princes, being Christians, continue liable to sin, to be rebuked, to be excommunicated, to be restored by penance, as much after the establishment of the Church as before.

But the social polity of the Middle Ages admitted something further than this.

The sovereign power in each state is supreme, and without appeal within its own limits; but beyond these limits it finds itself controlled by a higher power, by international law. This is not a theory, but a fact of universal history: it is a fact in feudal times as well as in modern Europe. Through all the gradations of feudalism the lord, supreme within his own domain, had his peers outside of that domain; so, at the top of the tree, the prince had princes his equals, with whom he had of necessity relations, and to whom he therefore owed duties. Wherever a state-system exists—and it must exist, except in the single case of universal empire—the establishment of the Church must be very imperfect, if it is only set side by side with the civil power within each state, and not also set side by side with the external all-controlling power. It is not enough that national law admit the Church as an element in the state, unless international law admit it as an element in the state-system. The duties of princes towards their lieges become Christian, and so must the duties of princes towards one another. Christendom now, as then, forms one system, and acknowledges a common law. Since

the beginning of the Protestant religion, international law has been based on morality, and enforced by public opinion; before, it was based on the Gospel, and enforced by the power of the Keys. Ours is entrusted to alliances and compacts, amenable (as bodies) to public opinion alone; theirs to a Christian bishop, bound in conscience and before God to act according to a well-known and well-defined ecclesiastical law. Both agree in admitting, in the last resort, the interference of an armed force to compel submission, or punish flagrant infraction of this common law. They differ in the person whom they constitute the judge, ours making the courts interested, such—theirs, a synod of bishops, men who could not be interested. As, too, that age considered it the duty of the temporal power in each state to enforce the Church's sentence on the refractory individual, so it equally recognised the power of the whole of Christendom to enforce the Church's sentence on the refractory prince. As the obstinate heretic was considered beyond the pale of national, so the excommunicated prince was beyond the pale of international, law: and as the people then suffered from the spiritual sword, so now, in the parallel case, they suffer from the temporal—from war, whether as soldiers or as invaded.

From the establishment of the Church, it followed that temporal penalties attended spiritual sentences. But spiritual sentences passed against all sin whether the sinner were prince or peasant; and in each case carried with them the appropriate temporal penalty. But a respectful distinction was made. A private person, whether baron or knight,

or of lower degree, contumaciously refusing satisfaction, was at once excommunicated; but princes, as entrusted by God with temporal power for the behoof of their people, stood not alone; other interests were involved in their welfare. Neither people nor prince can sin, so Holy Scripture teaches, without mutually involving each other in the guilt. The sins of David and Abimelech were visited on their people, not on themselves.[1]

As it was more grievous, then, that a prince should sin, as he brought thereby evil on others, and not on himself alone; so more endeavour should be had to bring him to repentance, more time should be allowed, and the final sentence deferred, in hopes of his recovery by more gentle means. In making, then, an Interdict of the realm or province precede excommunication of the prince's person, it was sought to show mercy rather than severity, to afflict the body rather than to bruise the head; to excite the people to general prayer to God to turn the heart of the king, and to appeal to the generous feelings of the prince himself, as the father of his people, not to see them continue in misery through his obduracy. Hence, during the Interdict, fasting and all outward signs of mourning were enjoined. The faithful and the obedient thus mediated between God and the disobedient, and the city was spared for the ten's sake.

Human imperfection, indeed, often found place in

[1] Quicquid delirant reges, etc. is a belief of natural religion even. Alexander of Russia, in the inundation which devastated St. Petersburg in 1824, rode into the crowd of sufferers, crying out, "My children, you are suffering on my account. Yes, it is my sins that God thus visits on you." Hurter, i. 378.

the administration of this system. Cardinals were bribed, popes were intimidated, or their legates deceived them, or the legates themselves were cajoled by affected deference on the part of the monarch. But every possible precaution was taken. Through all the gradations of the hierarchy (which followed the pattern of the heavenly)[1] the superior had a power of prohibition on the exercise of excommunication by the inferior; and the appeals allowed to the metropolitan, and finally to Rome, where a cause was sure of the most patient and thorough investigation, established a system of checks and counterchecks on caprice and indiscretion. Still it was, in the hands of the bad, prostituted to selfish purposes. It was a spiritual weapon with which hostile prelates fought one another. Instead of being limited to cases of obstinate heresy or perseverance in mortal sin, it was had recourse to on every occasion of difference between the Church and the prince. It was too much used to protect the property of the Church, or the persons of ecclesiastics. In 1196, the Archbishop of Rouen laid all Normandy under an Interdict, because Richard had seized on his castle of Roch Andelay, to fortify it.[2] The Bishop of Ely did the same to his own diocese, for the sake of annoying the same archbishop, who was at that time opposed to him in the state. The town of St. Omer's was interdicted by the abbot of St. Bertin's, in a dispute about a piece of fen ground. Giraldus relates a sort of ecclesiastical duel that he himself fought with the Bishop of St. Asaph, about

[1] Ad. instar cœlestis curiæ.
[2] Rad. de Diceto, 694.

a church over which both parties claimed to have jurisdiction. The zealous archdeacon sallied out at the head of his clerks, in their stoles and surplices, and lighted candles in their hands, and met the bishop at the entrance of the churchyard. If the bishop began the sentence of excommunication, Giraldus began on his side at the same moment. The bishop delivered a general sentence of anathema; Giraldus did the same. And so the combatants stood, face to face, for some time, till Giraldus bethought him of the church bells. "The sound of these, when rung against themselves, the Welsh do greatly abhor"; Giraldus gave the signal, and those within the church began to toll them, whereupon the bishop and his party mounted their horses and rode off as fast as they could.[1]

Familiar, then, as this punishment was to the people of England, and softened as was its rigour by the disuse of some of its first accompaniments, there were yet some circumstances peculiar to this present Interdict, which explains the horror by which it was regarded by the people, and hence the secret force by which it at last brought the king to submit. A chronicler,[2] who wrote a century afterwards, bears witness to the impression that this Interdict left, in the words "Et memoriale hoc jam durat in sæcula." 1. Its extent. It was the first and the last which extended to the whole kingdom; Wales and Ireland were expressly included. 2. Its duration, upward of six years. 3. The strictness with which it was enforced. The ordinary privileges of

[1] De rebus a se gestis, p. 403.
[2] Hemingford, p. 553.

particular orders were suspended. Among others, the Cistercians, and the order of Grandmont, as their houses were placed in lonely and remote spots, where their chanting could not be generally heard, were allowed exception in ordinary cases of Interdict. The strict care, however, shown in observing this Interdict, had induced them, at first, to waive their privilege, and comply, like others. But when time went on, and there were no signs of the king's giving way, some of the Cistercian houses, bethinking themselves of this privilege, re-opened their churches, rung their bells, and chanted the offices as usual.

Their motive seems to have been a good one. They urged, in their appeal to Rome, the relaxation of discipline, and indevotion, which such a long disuse of the Divine service occasioned. Indeed, in any monastery, especially of the more severe orders, the change made by the cessation of the daily mass and the hours, must have been nothing less than a total break-up of their established life, internal and external. Not only was the best part of their occupation gone, but that which supported them under their austerities was withdrawn.[1] Innocent, however, did not allow their claim. It would be invidious, he told them, to the other religious, to whom they ought rather to be an example of severity, seeing they received tithes of their lands. And it was very different allowing them this privilege now, when they had begun by observing the Interdict, from what it would have been had they from the

[1] Propter divinorum subtractionem quidam indevotiores effecti amplius duruerunt. Inn. Ep. xiii. 43.

first taken no notice of it. It would have the appearance, both to the king and others, of a slackening zeal on the part of the clergy, and a desire to give up the contest. Not, however, to deprive the monks altogether of the Divine food, or the kingdom of the benefit of the precious sacrifice of the altar, he, on Langton's intercession, so far relaxed the rigour, as to allow the celebration of mass once in the week, in conventual churches, provided the doors were shut to keep out all strangers, no bell rung, and the service only said, not chanted. Even from this indulgence were excepted such Cistercian houses as had broken the injunction.

Practice had established some mitigations, also, in behalf of the poor country folk, and the long duration of this interdict, drew others from the mercy of the Pope. Absolution to the dying, and baptism to infants, being sacraments of necessity, were allowed. The mixture for the chrism was prepared by special licence, when what was in use was exhausted. Marriages and churchings took place at the church door; sermons were preached on Sundays to the people in the open air, when holy water and bread were distributed.[1]

Princes had their own established way of meeting the exertion of spiritual power. No sooner was the sentence published, than John issued orders to the sheriffs to order every priest who should dare to observe it, whether monk or secular, to quit the kingdom. He had learnt this lesson from Philip Augustus, who had done the same eight years before. This, warned by the too precipitate retreat of the

[1] Chron. Dunstaple.

monks of Christ Church, which had been at the time generally condemned, the clergy refused to do, and the king's officers did not dare to turn them out of their monasteries by force. All their lands and revenues, however, were seized into the king's hands, the king's seal put upon their granaries and storehouses, and their contents applied to the uses of the exchequer; the royal reasoning, in this respect, being the intelligible one, that if the clergy would not perform their functions, they should not receive their dues. "You bishops," Philip Augustus, in the same situation, said to the Bishop of Paris, "care for nothing so long as you can eat and drink your large revenues! You heed not what becomes of the poor! Look you, that I do not strike at your manger, by seizing your goods."

And now began a scene of spoliation, which almost reminds us of the sixteenth century. The wardship of church lands became an object of competition among the king's friends. Harpy courtiers and needy military adventurers from Poitou, were put in possession of the lands of the bishops and abbeys, the best cultivated in the kingdom. Others were set to sale.[1] Sometimes an abbot or a chapter would purchase the custody of their own lands. Bare necessaries, food and clothing, were ordered to be allowed the clergy out of their own goods. "Reasonable eatage"[2] was adjudged to be, for a monk, two dishes a day for his dinner; for a secular priest, four sworn men of the parish were to decide what was necessary.

[1] Rot. Claus. 107—110.
[2] Rationabile estuverium.

If the parish priest fared better, he was, in another point, open to a peculiar source of annoyance. In spite of all efforts, the bishops had never been able to bring the parish clergy in England to observe continence. The abuse was partially reformed from time to time, but a relapse soon followed. The secular priests at this time seem to have been living generally throughout the country in a state of concubinage. In Wales, this was the case even with the secular chapters. All these "focariæ" were now, by the king's order, seized and imprisoned. They could not complain of this. The Pope would not help them here. Their own canons condemned them. And so the priests were put to the shame and cost of buying them off at heavy ransoms.

The Interdict was a hard trial for the clergy, but a most direct one of their faith and obedience. The dilemma they were in was one in which they could have no doubt what was their duty, whatever difficulty they might feel in following it. "Miserable man that I am," said one in a similar case; "if I disobey the king I lose my worldly estate; if I hearken not to my lord the Pope, I peril my soul!" The case, indeed, was plain now. There was no plea or subterfuge under which they could refuse to recognise the Interdict. All the higher clergy throughout England (three bishops, and a few court clerks excepted), unanimously braved the king's vengeance.

And this was neither trifling nor transient. As long as a monk kept within his cloister, he might have but one meal a day, but his person was at least safe. But no sooner did he venture to appear abroad,

or travel in his religious dress, than he was liable to be robbed and murdered with impunity. General sentence of outlawry was passed [1] against the clergy. Once, in the Welsh marches, a robber was brought before the king handcuffed, who had murdered a priest on the road. "Let him go, he has rid me of one of my enemies," was John's summary sentence. All the kindred who could be found of Langton, and of the three bishops who had pronounced the sentence, were thrown into dungeons, and their property confiscated.

A scholar at Oxford, practising archery, accidentally shot a woman. He immediately absconded. The mayor of the city, with a great posse, came to the inn where he lodged. The delinquent was not to be found, but three students, who were joint occupants of the same inn with him, they seized and imprisoned. John happened to be close at hand, at Woodstock, and he sent immediate orders to hang all the three. This the citizens did, nothing loth. The University complained to Rome; and the whole body of scholars and masters, by authority of a Papal bull, withdrew from Oxford, and were dispersed among the various other schools, chiefly Cambridge, Reading, and Maidstone. A few masters (for the king had a party here) disobeyed the order, but they were suspended from teaching for three years. In three years' time, the townspeople professed contrition, made submission to the legate, and did penance. Besides satisfaction in money, the more guilty part were required to go barefoot, and in their shirts, with whips in their hands, to each

[1] Utlagatio.

of the churches in the city—one church every day till they had gone through them all—and beg absolution from the priest. And as soon as the Interdict should be removed, they were to attend in the same guise the burial of the three scholars they had hung; for their bodies, like those of all the clergy who died during its continuance, were kept, that they might be buried in the churchyard.

John's hatred of, and violence towards the clergy, did not date from the Interdict. The Cistercians were especially obnoxious to him. For, as the flower of the Church, they attracted the concentrated enmity of the bad. Like the Jesuits now-a-days, they bore the burden of the world's hatred. The wit and malice of the dissolute and profane, discharged itself with aggravated venom on the white monks. Whole heaps of these blasphemous tirades are yet preserved in our libraries. In 1204, in a parliament at Lincoln, the Cistercian abbots, in a body, presented themselves before John, to endeavour to appease his anger. Turning to the men-at-arms, by whom he was surrounded, "Ride them down," he cried. The savage order, unheard of before from the mouth of a Christian prince, was disobeyed.[1]

These violences might be considered the outburst of the uncontrolled passions of a tyrant, but that the very same had been resorted to by a wise and politic monarch like Philip Augustus. But John was not a Philip Augustus. Philip was the slave of passion in one instance; John, at all times, and in everything. Hence, when Philip incurred the

[1] MS. Cott. ap. Dugd. M. A.

censure of the Church, though he had had the support of his barons and whole kingdom, yet he had yielded or been subdued at last. Conscience, it may be hoped, was too strong for him,—for the sympathy of numbers will bear a bad man up in any cause. The usual policy of those who resist the Church has been to enlist the better feelings of the world on their side. But John could not submit to the constraint that this required. He would not even live with his own baronage, and they equally avoided him; and he only intruded into their castles in pursuit of his adulterous amours. These he followed without disguise and without restraint. There was scarce a noble family but had to revenge the disgrace of a wife, a daughter, or a sister.

He surrounded himself with new men, creatures of his own, adventurers from Poitou and Gascony, —not the Poitevin nobles, for they had drawn off from him as much as the English. As he had no faith in his own barons, he determined to secure them by fear. He sent, accordingly, some of his retainers with an armed force round the kingdom, and exacted hostages from some of the more formidable of them. Such was their fear of the king's power that none dared refuse.

A powerful baron on the Welsh marches was William de Brause; and his wife Matilda, daughter of a French knight, Bertrand de St. Valery, was even more redoubted than her husband.[1] The terror

[1] Il n'éstoit nulle parole de sen baron aviers chou qu'éstoit di lui. Chron. Norm. Bene novimus quod non erat in potestate sua, sed magis in potestate uxoris suæ. Lit. Joan. ap. Rymer.

were they both, of the Welsh marauders, whose cupidity was excited by the twelve thousand English-bred kine that grazed round the castle of Abergavenny. She boasted that she had cheeses enough laid up in her dairy to supply one hundred men with ammunition for a month, if nothing else could be found to feed the engines with. When the king's servants came to her for hostages, she asked what had become of Arthur of Bretagne? Did they think she would give up her son to one who had taken such poor care of his own nephew? John's vengeance was instantaneous. A body of knights was sent to surprise De Brause in his castle. He had barely time to fly into Ireland with his wife and children. The latter fell into John's hands during his Irish expedition. He imprisoned them at Windsor, where he starved them to death.

But, notwithstanding all his violence, John had misgivings. He knew he was not so strong as he seemed to be. The badness of his title to the crown was always before him. He suspected his barons; he thought they were practising in secret against him. He began to manifest a desire for a reconciliation with the Church, and there were hopes of a speedy recall of the Interdict. Langton himself made an effort to soften the king, and wrote to him, begging him to consider the dishonour he brought on himself by his obstinacy in evil. John answered this letter. He stuck to his point, that Langton had not been canonically elected; but hinted, that if he was disposed to resign all the claims which he might consider himself to have on the see of Canterbury, the king would provide for

the honour of that Church in a way, perhaps, not to the disadvantage of Langton: and he sent him an invitation to come over to England, but not as archbishop. This insidious attempt to bribe Langton to give up the point at issue, by the lure of perferment for himself, was of course rejected.

The king then required the return of the bishops of Ely and Worcester. They came, and waited on the king for eight days, but he would not see them. There was something ominous in this; he could not yet digest his rage, so they returned. He sent a fresh deputation to Rome, to represent strongly what he called his grievances, but, at the same time, to signify that he was willing, out of his desire for peace, to yield somewhat of what was justly due to him. He would recognise the archbishop, let him return in safety, and restore what had been taken from the see. And even the monks of Christ Church, though they had deceived him so infamously, he would allow to return. But, he said, his mind was still so exasperated against the archbishop, that he could not admit him to his presence. He would hand over to Innocent the crown rights on the temporalities of the see, and begged that the Pope himself would invest the archbishop with them.

His agent in this negotiation was, strangely enough, a Cistercian abbot. But he was an abbot of John's own making, and of an abbey of his own founding, so that he was probably an ecclesiastic of a right royal fashion. Only four years before this John had brought some Cistercians from the continent, and settled them in one of the fairest spots on the southern coast rightly named Beaulieu;

it was partly in a transient fit of remorse, partly to expiate the cruel afforesting of the district in which it stood—the New Forest.

Innocent would not discourage any overtures, though attended with such a strange condition. He accepted the regalia, but was careful to protest in his commission, delegating the power of conferring them to two bishops, that he did so for the sake of peace, and that it was not to be a precedent. He looked forward at this time to the speedy adjustment of the dispute. In writing to the Bishops of Ely and London, in June of this year, he answers on several points of ritual, on which they had consulted him, under the hope that all such difficulties would soon be removed.

Strangers, too, interposed their mediation. Henry, Duke of Saxony, the king's nephew, visited his uncle, and tried to induce him to give way. And the Emperor Otho wrote to him with the same object.[1] A second time he sent an invitation to the three bishops, Ely, London, and Worcester, who accordingly came to Canterbury. The king was gone on an expedition into Scotland, but had deputed some, both clergy and laymen to treat with them. Terms of accommodation were agreed on, reduced to writing, and sealed on both sides. The three bishops and the archbishop were to return to their sees, the lands of which were to be given up to them, and a hundred pounds each given them in part restitution of the intercepted proceeds, and the waste committed.

Here was a new and vexatious source of disagree-

[1] Ann. Wav.

ment. The king thought the bishops ought to be glad enough to get back on any terms, and that he did enough in admitting the archbishop at all, more than which ought not to be asked of him. The bishops would not recede from what had been settled, so the agreement remained null. No doubt John was sincere in wishing a reconciliation; he was not merely trifling to gain time. But he had no idea of giving up the point at issue; he would not yield in any such way as should seem to be waiving his absolute nomination. A compromise for the mere sake of peace, unless there was a clear admission that all the steps taken on the Church side were just and right, would now be a throwing away of all the suffering that had been endured.

It might, however, be part of the king's policy to protract matters by negotiation, for all this while excommunication was hanging over him; this was the necessary sequel to the Interdict when resisted. In January 1209, the Pope sent notice, according to form, of the impending sentence. He implored the king to "consider how he risked his salvation by his prolonged impenitence. He was truly cruel to himself. The fatherly affection of the Pope was hateful to him; but, as a skilful and tender physician, he would not shrink from applying painful remedies, however reluctant the patient might be. If he did not, therefore, follow up the agreement concluded through the Abbot of Beaulieu, sentence of excommunication would proceed against him after a delay of three months."[1]

This alarmed John. An Interdict afflicted his

[1] Inn. Ep. xi. 221.

subjects, and lowered his own character; but to excommunicate him, was to touch his person. He must then be avoided by all but the utterly abandoned; and even these would feel a superiority over him, as their continuing to associate with him would be a favour: they would become necessary to him. So deep was religious sentiment seated in that age, that even contact with an excommunicate was shrunk from with loathing, as from leprosy. The room, the house, the town, in which he was, was polluted by his presence; the priest might not offer the holy sacrifice within its walls; the very cup he drank from was unfit for Christian use. When dead, his body was to be buried in rubbish; if forcibly interred in a churchyard, the ground required to be consecrated afresh.[1] The religious instincts of the community thus brought home the sentence even to those who set at nought its spiritual consequences. And as its effects could not be averted, the policy of princes was to hinder its publication or reception within their territories. Henry II. had once hurried over to Ireland, to be out of the way of an excommunication he thought was coming upon him. So now, all the ports were strictly guarded, and every traveller rigorously searched; and the most cruel vengeance awaited any who should bring, pronounce, or act upon, the sentence.

The three months allowed had been long exceeded in continually disappointed hopes of a settlement. A reprieve was again obtained till the octave of St.

[1] See the law in Decret. Greg. ix. Tit. 39; for the practice, Hürter, iii. 113.

Michael's. Several messages passed between the king and archbishop, and at last he was again invited to meet the king at Dover, letters of safe conduct being sent him both by the king and some of the barons. With the Bishops of London and Ely, he crossed to Dover on the 2nd of October. The king came to Chilham Castle, near Canterbury, and sent the Justiciary and the Bishop of Winchester with certain articles which they were to demand of the archbishop. They were such as he could not agree to, and he recrossed the sea.

The sentence could now be deferred no longer, the Interdict having endured with so much suffering to the people for nearly two years. At the close of the year, accordingly, Langton forwarded a bull, which he had before received to that effect, to the Bishop of Arras, and the abbot of St. Vedastus, where the exiled Bishops of London and Ely were lodged, requiring them to publish the sentence, with the proper forms, in that city. They did so, and sent it to England; but the bishops who still remained there, durst not publish it, and kept it to themselves. The secret got out notwithstanding; men whispered it to one another, under their breath, in the streets or the market; and even so it made no little stir and commotion. Two instances may be given. Geoffry, Archdeacon of Norwich, one day sitting at the Exchequer on the king's business, declared in confidence to his colleagues, that he did not think it safe for a clergyman to continue longer in the service of a prince excommunicate; and at once withdrew. He was instantly followed, by the king's order, and thrown into a

dungeon, with a heavy cope of lead round his neck, and left in that condition to die of starvation.[1] Another of the king's officers, Hugh, Archdeacon of Wells, the chancellor, having been put by the king into the see of Lincoln, procured leave to cross into Normandy, under pretext of receiving consecration from the Archbishop of Rouen. But he was no sooner safe out of the kingdom, than he betook himself to Langton, at Pontigny, swore canonical obedience to him, and was consecrated by him. The temporalities of the see of Lincoln were immediately seized into the king's hands, and the great seal given to Walter, a brother of John de Gray.

[1] Tam victualium penuriâ, quam ipsius capæ ponderositate. Wend.

CHAPTER IV

THE year 1209 closed with the excommunication; and now there ensued three dismal years of hopeless distress for people and clergy. Hope of speedy redress had hitherto borne them up: but all semblance of negotiation with Rome was broken off; the ports were strictly guarded to prevent all ingress and egress without the royal licence. Want, distress, and insult was the daily lot of the clergy, while the supports and occupations of a religious life were withdrawn. Many of the religious houses were quite broken up by the wanton oppression of those who had the custody of them; and the religious were dispersed over the country, to beg a shelter in other monasteries, or from the charity of the country folk. The bareness of the monastic annals during the latter half of John's reign, as compared with the period preceding and following, bear witness to this persecution. What aggravated their suffering was, that it was not a crisis of national confusion; a general disturbance, in which all suffered alike, and the excitement of action brought relief. Throughout the kingdom all went on as usual. The king kept court in state at the great festivals. They passed, indeed, without mass or prayer, in the church or out of it; but the nobles presented themselves to pay their duty,

and receive the robes distributed on such occasions; and woe[1] to him who was suspected of absenting himself out of regard to the excommunication.

John invaded Scotland, Ireland, Wales; was followed by his feudal tenants, just as his father would have been, and returned with success on each occasion. The intervals of military undertakings were filled up by the usual expedients for extorting money, and attention to the preservation of game. He watched over this with as much jealousy as William Rufus himself. In one of these years, all enclosures within old forest boundaries were ordered to be thrown down; in another, the game law was, for the first time, extended to birds, and the capture of them prohibited throughout the kingdom.

That all this should go on in the midst of the Interdict, struck the king himself; and he said one day, in cutting up a fine hart, in his bitter way, "This beast never heard a mass, and yet couldn't be fatter!" Every now and then his savage nature found vent in some particular act of oppression—in torturing Jews, or in sacking a Cistercian convent. The worst barbarities were attended, in the genuine spirit of the ancient tyrants, with mockery and jest.[2]

Never before had a king and his court so long and obstinately set at defiance their own conscience from within, and the religious sentiment of Christendom from without. Henry I. had had the whole

[1] Rex omnibus sese subtrahentibus nocive insidiabatur. Wend.

[2] The well-known ballad of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury (Percy Rel. ii. 302), though we have it only in a modern form, well expresses the enjoyment John found in tormenting an ecclesiastic.

of the Norman bishops with him; Henry II. had been backed by a large party of the clergy both at home and abroad, while St. Thomas was but feebly supported by Rome, and looked at with suspicion by all as high and extravagant in his demands. But John was the open enemy of the whole Church, and made no pretence of favouring any party in it. Even he, however, had his false prophets ready to prophesy good concerning him, and not evil. There is no form of hostility to the Church, from the most rigid puritanism down to avowed libertinism, which is not willing to mask itself under a religious theory of some kind. Among the court clerks was one Alexander, surnamed the Mason. He had studied at Paris, and had some reputation for learning. He now began to preach the doctrine that John was ordained by Providence to be the scourge of his people, whose wickedness it was, and not any fault of the king's, that had brought down this visitation of the Interdict. The king was the rod of chastisement in the hand of the Lord, set up for this end, that he should rule the people with a rod of iron, and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel. Further, that the Pope had no power to interfere with the rights of kings and temporal lords, or with the rule and regimen of any lay governors whatsoever. The Lord had committed to Peter power over the Church and things ecclesiastical only.

Whether under pretext of some such extreme theory as this, or in open defiance of conscience, and even of decency, many clerks still continued to frequent the court of the excommunicate prince.

Among these were even three English bishops. That John de Gray, of Norwich,[1] should be one, cannot surprise us; though it must not be forgotten that the right of nomination was what John was maintaining and the Church was resisting, and the character of the particular nominee, however bad, was not insisted on. The other two courtier bishops[2] were both Poitevins, put into the sees of Durham and Winchester, one by Richard, the other by John, for similar qualifications; both were men of ability, knowledge of the world, and of courts. Philip of Durham had been Richard's chaplain, and the sharer of his romantic adventures on his return from Palestine. He died about this time under a special excommunication. More distinguished than Philip was Sir Peter de Roches, of Winchester. He had been a knight, but he soon saw that good as the trade of war was, there was a better for him. The times of fighting-bishops were passing away, now that King Richard was dead, whose military enthusiasm was contagious. Innocent did not encourage them. Philip of Beauvais, who when forbidden to use sword or spear, was fain to content himself with a club, was like to have died in prison after he had been taken in arms by Mercadier. What could Celestine say, when, in answer to his demand that his son, the Bishop of Beauvais, should be released, Richard sent him the bishop's hauberk, and begged him to "see whether this be thy son's coat or no?" The wily Poitevin resolved to make his fortune in the

[1] Norwicensis bestia. Polit. Songs.
[2] Episcopi curiales.

political world, and therefore entered the Church. Law feudal and canon law were now gaining a mastery over men, which they had never had since the barbarians came in. Manœuvre began to have the better of force, and the men of words carried it over the men of blows. A century or two later the diplomatists had it entirely their own way; armies became the chessmen of the cabinet; a century earlier, the class was almost unknown. Just at this period, was the period of conflict between the two. At a later period such men were lawyers, juris-consults; at this time they were priests and bishops. Peter de Roches was one of these. In the Holy Land the affairs of the Christians had been entirely in his management for five years; and we need not be surprised to find him a Crusader. It is true the crafty in general stayed at home to make the most of the absence of the others. But religion was sometimes too strong, even for these.

For, by what may seem to us a strange contradiction, hardly even the worst men in those days threw off their allegiance to the Church. It is not, indeed, uncommon, now, in the struggle between the Church and the world, to see a man take part against the Church, and yet continue to think himself, and to claim to be, influenced by religion. But he ranges himself outside the Church, and openly impugns her doctrine and discipline; whereas, in those times, even such as sided with princes against the Church, placed their hope of salvation in her, and neither in thought or word infringed her unity. Philip of Durham, who braved excommunication in

the cause of John, made a pilgrimage to Compostella for the remission of his sins, with the most devout faith. Peter de Roches undertook, in advanced age, the journey to the Holy Land, as penance for the part he took at this time. Even the godless John himself founded three monasteries, besides many other benefactions for his soul's health.

Peter de Roches had no mind to quit the chancery as Geoffry of Norwich had done. There might be an Interdict or excommunication, but some one must direct the writs. He was too fond of "handling the king's roll"[1] to quit it lightly.[2] Besides those who adhered to the king, there were not above two or three of the bishops remaining in the kingdom. The rest had made their escape to the continent; no easy matter when the king's officers kept a strict guard at all the principal ports.[3] The poor monks, who had not the means of flying, complained grievously of this desertion.[4]

Indeed, it is with truth that it has been said of the bishops and higher clergy of this period that, "None, generally speaking, stood morally lower than the English. None were more mightily fettered by the spirit of this world; none seem to have given so great offence by their temper and habits of life."

[1] "Wintoniensis armiger,
Ad computandum impiger,
Piger ad Evangelium,
Regis revolvens rotulum." Polit. Songs, p. 10.

[2] Wintoniensis non tam ecclesiastica defensabat, quam regia administrabat. Cont. Hov.

[3] The Bishops of Bath and Salisbury appear to have made their peace with the king immediately after the Interdict.—Vid. Rot. Claus. April 10, 1208.

[4] Coldingham.

Bitter and heartfelt, but justified by abundant instances, is the sorrow with which an English writer, William of Newburgh,[1] exclaims, "To the bishops of our time the world is not crucified, but clings most closely. They say not with the prophet, 'Woe is me that the days of my sojourn here are prolonged!' but even a long enjoyment of their eminence seems to them short. Keen is their sorrow when they must perforce take leave of their riches and enjoyments."[2] And the character which the same writer gives of Hugh Pudsey of Durham, may serve for very many of the contemporary prelates: "A man of much experience in the ordering of earthly affairs, and of ready tongue, though without much learning; of a most ardent thirst for money, and well acquainted with all the methods of getting it."[3]

Let us turn for a few moments from the dreary spectacle here presented, to one which may in some degree serve as its counterpoise. Pontigny—as it had been St. Thomas's, as it was to be St. Edmund's—was now Langton's chosen refuge and resting-place. St. Edmund, an exile in the same cause, remembered Langton's reception here as a subject of consolation to himself. Here, debarred from a more active sphere, with no prospect (at one time at least) of being permitted to discharge the high and perilous duties to which he had been called, Langton gave himself up to the occupations of a religious life, to meditation and assiduous study of Holy Scripture. "Princes did sit and speak against me, but Thy servant was occupied in Thy

[1] V. 10. [2] Hürter, iii. 331.
[3] Newburgh, ibid.

statutes"; for it was probably during these years that he wrote his Commentaries.

Unfortunately these are almost entirely unknown to us, but by the accounts, scanty enough, of early writers. Not that they have all perished — many still remain in manuscript. We can at least judge of Langton's industry by the number of works ascribed to him. A bare catalogue of the titles of these would fill several pages. It is probable that many of these may be erroneously so ascribed; but it is equally probable that many have perished whose names even are unknown to us. This is an investigation interesting to the antiquary, but not within the scope of this history. Before the Revolution the libraries of Cistercian houses in France teemed with them.[1] They had been propagated, no doubt, from Pontigny; and in this country they were widely dispersed. But our Press in the sixteenth century rapidly becoming Puritan, little of that vast body of theology which the three scholastic centuries had produced, was preserved by it; while every scrap of that undercurrent of profane and heretical literature, which had before been circulated only in secret, was eagerly treasured up, as it seemed to give an ancestry and antiquity to the new Protestant doctrines. Scurrilous diatribes against the monks, indecent amatory effusions, ribald drinking-songs, mixed with the darker superstitions of the southern heretics, the literature of the tavern and the brothel, were diligently printed and commented on. For even the ages of faith had their irreligious element; and on this, with the sure instinct of unconscious

[1] Oudin. ii. p. 1697.

sympathy, the Reformation fastened. "The Reformers were astonished and delighted to find that three and four centuries before, their ancestors had protested so strongly against the abuses which they had now succeeded in correcting, and they were eager to publish and translate the biting satires by which their sentiments had been bequeathed to posterity."[1]

In the poor relics which the ignorant fanaticism of the sixteenth century has left us, of the once rich stores of English theology, Langton's writings form a considerable proportion. Scarce a manuscript collection of any importance, which does not contain one or more of them. What are ascribed to him may be divided into the following classes:—1. Commentaries on nearly all the books of the Old Testament. There were two very different methods of commenting on Holy Scripture followed at this time in the Latin Church. One originated about this period, being introduced by the new school method. This, so far as it was novel—for in all essentials, and almost in form, St. Augustine is a schoolman—consisted in the application of the syllogism to every subject-matter, and, among the rest, to the text of Holy Scripture. Not that the inspired writers were supposed to have themselves written syllogistically, but this was the means by which their sense could be most completely drawn out. A text, a clause, a single word, was taken, viewed in all the various meanings of which it was capable, and conclusions drawn from it under each of these meanings. This process is what is meant by the "scholastic philo-

[1] Wright, Introd. to Walter Mapes.

sophy," which was a method, and not a philosophical system. To minds not disciplined in a severe logic, such a system of interpretation of Scripture will be wholly unprofitable; but where such a discipline exists as the basis of all education, this rigid accuracy of meaning, and correctness of deduction will be demanded by the mind as the indispensable vehicle of all instruction. Hence a class of commentary began to be written for the use of the universities; or rather, theological teachers read in the schools exegetical lectures on the sacred page (as it was called), many of which were preserved either by their own notes, or by those of their pupils. The skeleton of St. Thomas Aquinas's lectures on St. Matthew and St. Luke is thus preserved, from notes taken by some hearer. The numerous commentaries of Albert the Great are of this description. This method is intellectual only, and is adapted for learners. Stephen Langton is said to have been among the first who adopted this method with success.[1] Indeed, as a lecturer in the schools, he had no choice. A teacher must, if he will be listened to, adapt himself to the form which thought assumes in his day. But that it was not that which was most agreeable to himself, we may conclude from the circumstance that far the greater part of his comments belong to the other class.

This, which we may call the *devotional* method, sought to feed and fill the soul with the Divine word, to present a material to the ruminative faculty. The other addressed itself to the intellect, this to faith.

[1] Subtiliter secundum modum scholasticæ lectionis exponens. Henricus Gandav.

It neglected the historical sense, a view of Scripture which it considered Jewish. "If once," says St. Bernard, "thou couldst taste ever so slightly of that 'finest wheat flour,'[1] wherewith Jerusalem is filled, how willingly wouldst thou leave the Jewish literal interpreters to gnaw their crusts alone!"[2] Not that it set aside the historical sense, much less considered it untrue; but it looked on the acts and circumstances of the persons described as done by themselves, and ordered by Providence, with an express reference to the acts of Christ, and the circumstances of His body, the Church, as regulated more by the laws of the unseen, than by those of the material world, the world of time and space. This sense is only to be understood by those whose sight was purged by austere life. It is the wisdom which St. Paul spoke "among them that are perfect." To those whose hearts are absorbed in the world, it seems folly and fatuity. Relish for mystical exposition is the sure test of the spiritual mind.

As the other class of commentaries was addressed to the universities, so this was addressed to the monks. They were written chiefly for the use of the cloister. No part of Scripture furnished a more rich subject for devout meditation than the Song of Solomon; none was more frequently and copiously commented on,—the very book which has most signally foiled modern expounders: to this Ecclesiastes and Proverbs were an introduction, as more belonging to practical life. "The words of

[1] Ps. cxlvii. 14.

[2] Quam libenter suas crustas rodendas literatoribus Judæis relinqueres! Ep. 106. ad Hen. Murdach.

Ecclesiastes," says St. Bernard, in the beginning of his Sermons on Canticles, "have, by God's grace, instructed you to know and contemn the vanity of this world. Your life and manners are sufficiently formed and disciplined by the teaching of the Book of Proverbs. Draw near now to this third kind of food, that ye may prove the more excellent things."

Not that the other books were unsuited for this purpose. "Yea, all the prophets, from Samuel, as many as have spoken, have foretold of these days." "But," says Bede,[1] "if in these books we are careful to follow out only the bare literal sense, as did the Jews, what reproof shall we receive amid daily sins! what consolation amid the gathering afflictions of life! what spiritual doctrine for our guidance through this tangled web! When, opening the book of Samuel, for instance, we read that Elkanah had two wives, we, whose resolve is to keep ourselves in the state of ecclesiastical life far from the embrace of a wife, how shall we learn aught from this, and the like accounts, I say, unless we know how to extract from them the allegoric sense, which refreshes us, by rebuking, instructing, consoling us?"

Langton's Commentaries belong mostly to this class. They are the meditations of a mystical mind, addressed to mystics; a recluse writing for recluses. This character appears also in their being confined to the Old Testament. We do not find anything on the New Testament attributed to him. In the New, as being of itself Christian, the literal sense must be more prominent; while the Old, if not made Christian by allegory, is, after all, no more than

[1] Exp. in Sam. Præf.

Jewish history. A richness beyond what is common, in his application of parallel passages, is also remarkable. He shows a familiarity with all the less studied parts of the prophetical and apocryphal books, which would well fall in with the account that it was he who first made the division of the Bible into chapters. For such a plan would only originate with a view to a Concordance; and the earliest Concordances were arrangements of parallel passages, dictionaries of the sense, not the words, of Scripture.

It is hard to suppose that one of such an ascetic spirit as these Commentaries evince, should have afterwards been absorbed in the vain pursuits of ambition. It is much more likely, that in struggling for the Charter he was acting from a sense of the duties which his office required of him. Indeed, we know that in later years he thought of giving up his see, and entering a Carthusian monastery, or even of embracing a hermit's life.[1] While archbishop he abstained from eating flesh, at least in public;[2] "so that," adds Giraldus, who is drawing a comparison between him and his great predecessor, "if he did not, like Thomas, expose his life to the swords of the wicked in defence of the Church, it was only because in his case there was no necessity urging him to do so." St. Edmund's recollection of him again at Pontigny may be considered a testimony to his saintliness. However, it is not in this light that he was regarded by the Church. All who mention him draw rather attention to his learning.

[1] Anachoriticam solitudinem aut heremiticam, aut Cartusiensis carceris austeritatem eligeris. Girald. Ep. ad Steph. Langton.

[2] Id. de Statu Menev. Eccles.

Gregory IX. describes him as "Stephen of worthy memory, a man pre-eminently endowed with the gifts of science, and the gifts of grace that come from above."[1] "A most eminent teacher of theology."[2] "Resplendent both in life and science."[3] "At the court of Rome was none greater than he; no, nor his equal in virtue and knowledge."[4] "A good clerk, and of high clergy."[5] These are specimens of the way in which he was spoken of by his contemporaries.

2. The historical writings ascribed to him were probably composed after his return to England. A History of the reign of King Richard, which Higden professes to follow in his account of that reign;[6] a Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and a book "Of the Deeds of Mahomet," are also attributed to him.

3. His education at Paris had also made him acquainted with the productions of the French minstrels; and he sought to turn to profit the taste for vernacular poetry which was then growing. One of the earliest miracle plays is considered to be his,[7]—a theological drama, in which Truth, Justice, Mercy, and Peace debate what ought to be the fate of Adam after his fall. It is written in Norman-French. Also a canticle on the Passion of Christ,

[1] Ep. Greg. ap. Wend. iv. [2] Albericus. [3] Emon. Chron.
[4] Matt. Par.
[5] Boins clers est, et de haute clergie. Chron. Norm.
[6] Cujus mores et actus Stephanus Cantuariensis luculenter descripsit. . . . Libellum Stephani cursim studui deflorare. vii. 25.
[7] By M. de la Rue (Archæol. xxvi.), but without sufficient evidence. Mr. Price (notes to Warton ii. 28) considers it a dramatic disposition of a later poem called "Chakour d'Amour."

of more than six hundred verses. A sermon (Latin) of his also remains, which consists of an application to the Blessed Virgin of part of a song or romance (in French) which we may suppose to have been popular at the time and well known to his hearers.

We return to the course of the narrative.

CHAPTER V

THE Excommunication had now been in force for three years, and John yet made light of it. There was one final measure to be tried, and Innocent had now paused long enough before having recourse to it. Let us not imagine that this was hesitation from indecision or fear. This forbearance of punishment is a peculiar feature of the Papal government, and was never more remarkably displayed than by those Popes who were most able to inflict it. They manifest a divine patience worthy of the highest power, the representative of that righteous Judge, who is "strong and patient, and provoked every day." They move as under the awful consciousness that their acts will be ratified in heaven.

At the close of 1212, the Bishops of London and Ely accompanied the archbishop to Rome, and represented strongly at the Holy See the desolation and ruin to which the kingdom was brought. It was not only the suffering of so many innocent persons, clergy and laity, the affliction of a considerable part of the Church, that called loudly on the father and guardian of the Church for aid; but a public scandal to the whole of Christendom, an evil example to the other princes, and a rank offence to all Christian nations. England was fast becoming a heathen country; Christianity and the teachers of it were

proscribed; even common justice, humanity, and right were violated: and of all this the king was the sole cause.

A formal sentence was accordingly given by the Holy See, pronouncing John deposed from the throne of England, and empowering Innocent to provide a more worthy successor.

The deposition of a sovereign for misgovernment is always a violent measure; and the deposition of John, though all England concurred, and all Christian princes approved, was still a revolution. Revolutions have no rules; but this was as far as possible effected in course of law, and by the only authority that could pretend to any right herein. The Pope was then held to be the executive of the law of nations. We are quite familiar with such powers as were wielded by secular congresses in modern Europe; and the living generation has seen an assembly of diplomatists dispose of provinces and peoples, pronounce the *dechéance* of some monarchs, and replace them by others with lavish liberality and uncontrolled power. In the times we write of, monarchy by right Divine had never been heard of; nay, rather, as Gregory VII. said, "The empire seemed to have been founded by the devil, while the priesthood was of God." But John had not even hereditary right to plead; he was but a successful usurper: and those who consider the necessity of the case to have justified the measure of 1688, will vindicate the right of the nation in 1213 to call to the throne a grand-daughter of Henry II. in place of a prince who was overturning the laws and religion of his realm.

Such is the political aspect of the case, stated in modern language. It is very certain, however, that Innocent III. in giving, and Christendom in receiving, the sentence of deposition, assumed higher ground than this; and that was the obligation, held sacred by that age, of maintaining, by the sword if need were, Christianity against its oppressors, infidel or heretic. "Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, He hath also rejected thee from being king over Israel."[1] On this principle war against John became a Crusade, and all privileges granted to Crusaders were attached to such as should take part in it.

And worse than an infidel he might well be thought by one who considered the events of the last six years. But though it was not generally known at the time, nor till many years later, John had made an express, formal offer to renounce the Christian faith. Doubts have been entertained of the truth of the story, from its being one of the later interpolations in the old chronicle of St. Alban's. Critics, however, have vindicated its authenticity on critical grounds; intrinsic probability is entirely in its favour. A Plantagenet, an Angevin, and son of a princess of Guienne, all John's attachments were to the south—that debatable ground where a degenerate Christianity had ceased to strive with an equally accommodating Moslemism and Judaism. The southern mind then entirely wanted the stern orthodoxy of northern Europe. When in a moment of desperation Philip Augustus exclaimed, "Happy Saladin, who has no Pope to interfere with

[1] 1 Sam. xv. 23.

him!" we rightly regard it as the transient outbreak of impatience and vexation. John's embassy to the Emir al Mounemim is a much more deliberate act. Nor again was it, like Francis I.'s alliance with Solyman the Magnificent, which so shocked the religious sense of Christendom, a merely political league, in which, for their mutual interest, the two parties consented to forget their differences of religion. The Saracen emir was making rapid conquests in Spain, and John would have been glad to have been aided by the strong arm, to whomever it might belong. But more rapid than the sword was the silent growth of Oriental, if not Mahometan, religion in these regions. To this secret tendency to a libertinism of opinion, as well as of practice, may be ascribed much of John's fondness for the men of Poitou and Guienne. He was at home with them: they would completely understand the point of many a sarcasm against the clergy which would be lost upon an Englishman. And how significant in this view the care of the legate Nicholas afterwards to force the king to issue a writ to the seneschal of Gascony for the extirpation of heretics in that province![1]

Nothing is more painful to the historian than the air of apology which the necessity of commenting on acts of past times is apt to assume. It does not need that one have a Catholic bias, but only that one have not the anti-Catholic bias, to see that such acts of popes as the one in question are no far-fetched, high-flown usurpations, but only the natural, inevitable results of a public and established Chris-

[1] Rot. Claus., Nov. 20, 1214.

tianity. It is simply an error against the truth of history to speak of the deposition and subjection of John, as has been done, as "an extraordinary transaction." Not only had it, in practice, as much precedent as the nature of the case admitted, but it was the legitimate and consequential application to the particular case of the general principles of the Church which all Catholics allow, and whose operation in that direction has now ceased, only because Christendom has ceased to be. Indeed, our sentiments on this matter are part of the great moral heresy of modern times. Power, according to the modern doctrine, is founded on the moral law. All power which spurns at, or which would emancipate itself from, the moral law, in fact abdicates—becomes noxious to a society of which morality is the rule, and must be put down by that society. Our Europe once was as much at accord as to what was Christianity, as it now is as to what is morality. Are there not symptoms of a third Bābel which shall break up this last bond of agreement?

In entrusting the execution of the sentence to the King of France, Innocent selected both an able and a willing agent.

Philip Augustus (1180-1223) was the first monarch of his age. At fifteen years of age he found himself on the throne of a kingdom circumscribed in extent, and wedged in between the dominions of far more powerful sovereigns. The earls of Champagne and Flanders, the count of Toulouse, above all the king of England, lord of the whole coast from Picardy to the Pyrenees, looked down on the poor king of

two or three small provinces. The commencement of his reign saw him struggling with some of his own petty vassals, who lived by robbery, and whose strongholds, posted all round it, kept Paris in a state of continual blockade. "One might venture as far beyond the walls as St. Denis; but further than this none durst ride without lance in rest, through the gloomy and perilous forest of Montmorency. In the other direction, the tower of Montlhery exacted a toll. Between his town of Orleans and his town of Paris the king could only travel with an army at his back." [1] In thirty years he had humbled his own vassals, trebled his dominions, shown himself a match for Richard, wrested from John every foot of land he possessed on the Continent; and now, in a parliament at Soissons, proposed to his barons to follow in the steps of William the Bastard, and achieve a second conquest and partition of England. Stephen Langton appeared before them, and produced the bull which he had brought from Rome. The announcement was received with enthusiasm. This was the Monday after Palm Sunday, the anniversary of the Interdict; and on the octave of Easter they were appointed to have their men ready. The rendezvous was Rouen.

The enterprise, however, promised to be no easy conquest, to judge from John's vigorous measures for meeting it. All the military tenants in the kingdom were required, as they loved the king, themselves, and their property, to present themselves at Dover after Easter, under the penalty of

[1] Michelet, iii. 17.

"culvertage."[1] All others in the realm capable of bearing arms, though neither bound by their tenures nor able to provide themselves with arms, were to be armed and paid out of the exchequer. Every vessel capable of holding six horses, in all the ports of the kingdom, was seized for the king's use, and ordered to Portsmouth. All the markets were to be suspended in the towns, and to follow the camp. It gives a great idea of the despotic power of the crown, and the energy of John's administration, to find that the whole male population of the realm were gathered on the coast of Kent. This was in behalf of an excommunicate king at open war with the whole Church. And yet we are apt to fancy that the power of the Church and clergy in those days was inordinate. They formed a multitude so much greater than the neighbourhood had the means of supporting, that the unarmed rabble were immediately dismissed. There yet remained sixty thousand men of the several species of force, ready equipped for service. This imposing array mustered on Barham Down, close to Canterbury; "a multitude sufficient," says the annalist, "had they been united with one heart and spirit to their king, to have made good his cause against any prince in the world."[2]

But John was not without allies on the Continent; for there is no man so abandoned, no cause so bad, as not to find defenders, so long as it seems to prosper. Reginald, count of Boulogne, a turbulent prince of a petty territory, expelled from France by Philip, was of great service in gaining many

[1] Turn-tail. [2] Wend.

lords in the Low Countries. Ferdinand, Earl of Flanders, Theobald, Earl of Bar, the Duke of Limbourg, the Duke of Louvain, the Viscount of Thouars, and William, Earl of Holland, promised or sent succours.

It was a feeble instrument that God made use of to defeat this mighty outfit. But, with a bad conscience within, the feeblest foe becomes formidable. The bishops, the Pope, the Interdict, the Excommunication—John had defied them all: the words of a poor rustic reached his conscience, and his resolution all at once failed him.

In the neighbourhood of Pontefract in Yorkshire, a burgh belonging to the great Baron Roger de Lasci, the constable of Chester, there lived a simple rustic, by name Peter. He led the life of a hermit, on bread and water. In his own neighbourhood he had the reputation of being a "wise man"; and he was resorted to by the country folk for the benefit of his fore, or second, sight. Soon he began to take a wider range; and he became obnoxious to John "for that he had warned him of many myshappes that hym sholde fall for hys cruelnesse, and for hys fornycacyon. . . . Cryst appeard twice to thys Pyers at Yorke, and ones at Pontfret, and taughte hym many thynges that he told afterwarde to byshoppes and people that were of evyl lyfe. Also in a tyme he laye thre dayes and thre nyghtes as he were in swownying, and was ravished, and sawe the joyes and paynes of good men and of evyl."[1] And now he gave out that John would cease to be king on Ascension Day next; for

[1] Trevisa's Higden.

that it had been revealed to him in a vision that John would reign for fourteen years, during which he would succeed in all he undertook. John had been crowned on Ascension Day 1199, the fourteen years then expired on Ascension Day 1213.

This prophecy was much bruited about in the north, where it made a great impression. It was at last taken up by the great people, for the northern barons were always the most disaffected to the king. Soon after, John happened to be in that part of the country, on his return from an abortive expedition against Wales. Provoked by new aggressions of the Welsh, he had set out with a large army, determined to exterminate the whole nation. He stopped on his way at Nottingham Castle, where the Welsh hostages were kept; and, before sitting down to meat, had twenty-eight youths, sons of the first Welsh chiefs, hung before his eyes. During the repast, which followed, came a courier from the King of Scotland, discovering a conspiracy formed against him among the barons; and at the very same time came in a messenger from Wales, secretly despatched by his daughter,[1] who was married to Llewellyn. He said he brought letters of secret tenor and great import. No business with John ever interfered with the business of the table; but as soon as his appetite was satisfied he retired, and found, to his consternation, that the letters coming from such opposite quarters agreed in revealing the existence of a widely-spread conspiracy against him. The hermit's prophecy, concurring with this, made

[1] Joan, by some wrongly called John's sister. See Higden, Polychronicon, MS.; Hundred Rolls, ii. 91.

a deep impression upon him. He gave up the expedition, and returned in haste to London. But he left special orders to seek out the hermit, and bring him to him. When he came into his presence, the king demanded if he meant that he should die on the day named. The hermit answered, that was beyond his knowledge ; all he knew was, that he should cease to be king on that day, and that he was willing to abide any penalty if it were not so. He was accordingly handed over to Harcourt, the governor of Corfe ; in its fatal dungeon, from which so few emerged alive, to wait the result. This very imprisonment gave vogue and currency to his prediction, which raised no little ferment in men's minds.

Fear had brought his vassals round him, but John knew that he could not depend on their fidelity. Perhaps too, in his extremity, he wished to fall into the hands of God rather than into those of men. He was lodged at the house of the Knights Templars near Dover, when word was brought him that Pandulph, the legate, was on the other side of the Channel, and solicited an audience. John desired he would come to him without delay. Pandulph represented to him that his final chastisement was now imminent ; that the King of France lay in the Seine, with a force which, with his disaffected vassals, he could not hope to resist ; that the very nobles who surrounded him had pledged themselves to Philip, under their own hands and seals, and tendered him their homage. But it was not yet too late, repentance and submission would still save him.

He yielded, and swore on the book of the Gospels to submit himself faithfully to the judgment of the

Church. Sixteen barons became surety for his fulfilment of his engagement: if he retracted, they were to compel him by force. The substance of this agreement was as follows: — "The king pledges himself under oath, that the bishops, and all other persons, lay or clerical, implicated in the present affair, shall be forgiven, and received and retained *bonâ fide* in his favour; that he will not hurt nor suffer others to hurt them, nor disturb them in the full exercise of their functions and jurisdiction. He will send them letters of safe-conduct before their coming over. He will restore the lands belonging to their churches, and give full compensation for all waste and damage; as a first instalment whereof, he will pay down £8000 sterling, to be divided among the archbishop, bishops, and the convent of Canterbury, in several rates and proportions. That he will set at liberty all clergy at present in his prisons, and all laymen who had been imprisoned on this matter. That he will recall the Interdict, or act of outlawry, which he had enacted against divers ecclesiastical persons; making at the same time, by letters patent, a renunciation of any such right or power against ecclesiastics."

This agreement was entered into on Monday the 13th of May. The 16th was Ascension Day, the fatal term fixed by Peter of Pontefract. On the vigil of that day, in a second meeting with the legate, in the presence of the chief nobility of the realm, John executed a deed resigning the crown of England to the Pope, and received one in return from the legate, by which he was to hold it as a vassal of the Holy See. "John, by the

grace of God, etc. to all the faithful in Christ, etc. We would have it known to you all by this charter confirmed by our seal, that, whereas we have in many things offended God and our mother the Holy Church, and therefore stand much in need of Divine mercy; and whereas we have nothing that we can worthily offer to make due satisfaction to God and the Church; we, willing to humble ourselves for Him who humbled Himself for us even unto death, the grace of the Holy Ghost moving us, and not by force or compulsion of the Interdict, but of our own free will, and by the advice of our assembled barons, do make over freely to God, and his holy apostles Peter and Paul, to the Holy Roman Church our mother, to the lord Pope Innocent and his Catholic successors, the whole realms both of England and Ireland, with all the rights belonging thereto, for the remission of our sins, and those of our family living and dead, to receive and to hold the said realms henceforth of him, and of the Church of Rome as its liegeman. . . . In token of this our obligation and grant for ever, we will and appoint, that out of the rents of the aforesaid kingdoms to us belonging, and in lieu of all service and custom which we are bound to do for them (saving the payment of the pennies of the blessed Peter), we will pay to the Roman Church yearly 3000 marks sterling, saving to us and our heirs our rights, liberties, and royalties."

This act is witnessed on the king's part by the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Norwich, Fitz-Peter the Justiciary, and ten other barons, including such as had all through most warmly espoused the

king's cause. This was followed by the usual act of homage done by liegemen to their lords.

Such a surrender was not uncommon in that age. It was an act of piety and humility, the visible homage of temporal power to spiritual, the confession of princes that the powers that be are ordained of God, in the true sense of that text—self-renunciation in a princely shape. To John it was also an act of penance: as a prince he had sinned, as a prince therefore ought he to repent, and he thus accepted, and acknowledged the justice of, the sentence of deposition. What degree of sincerity there may have been, we cannot judge. From time to time, throughout, and on his death-bed especially, he showed a desire to be reconciled to that Heaven against which he had so grievously sinned. But it is undoubtedly true, that on this occasion the step he took was demanded by his interest. Nothing short of the surrender of the crown to the Holy See could in all probability have arrested the French invasion.

The feast of Ascension was waited for by the king in anxious suspense, in which not only his army, but the whole kingdom shared. The royal tent was erected in the centre of the plain, and heralds made public invitation to the multitudes to join the king in celebrating the feast. And with rejoicings and festivities they kept it, the king enjoying himself in company with the bishops and great lords.[1] But his deliverance inspired no feeling of gratitude. No sooner was the fatal day

[1] Oblectante se et exhilarante cum episcopis et proceribus. Cont. Hov.

safely past, than he determined to revenge himself on the cause of his alarm. A messenger was despatched to Corfe, and the hermit and his son were taken from their dungeon, dragged at the tails of horses to Wareham the nearest borough, that their punishment might be more public, and there hanged, as false prophets;—unjustly so, so judged the wiser part, who said, that, if the events of the preceding days were rightly considered, they would be found to be a complete fulfilment of the prediction.

The legate had succeeded with one king, but a difficult task still remained with the other. He re-crossed the Channel, and bore the news to Philip that John had submitted, and that his interference was therefore unnecessary. But Philip was not to be so baulked. He had spared neither time, treasure, nor pains to bring that host together, at the Pope's bidding; and, now that the prize was within his reach, it was snatched from him, and he was treated as a mere tool of the Pope's to frighten the King of England into submission. Would the Pope even reimburse him the sixty thousand pounds he had embarked in the speculation? This is the evil of enlisting, on grounds of interest, men of the world to serve the cause of the Church. And, to say the truth, notwithstanding Philip's present good disposition towards the Church, he would not have been stayed in this matter, but for the Earl of Flanders. He instantly refused to follow in what, he said, would now be an unjust enterprise. The truth was, the earl had been gained over by John, and was in secret treaty with him. "Quit my

court," cried the king, "and, by all the Saints in France I swear, either Flanders shall become France, or France Flanders!" This invasion of Flanders furnished an object for his arms, and diverted him from England.

And now the exiles might return. The archbishop and bishops, and a whole crowd of clergy and laity, who had drawn towards the coast to wait the issue of the invasion, now embarked for England, scarcely believing yet the restoration which God had wrought for them, and landed at Dover on the 16th of July. The king had already left it, but they followed him to Winchester. As the little troop of exiles entered that ancient Saxon capital, they were met by the king himself. In the sight of all he threw himself at the archbishop's feet, and with abundance of tears begged for mercy for himself and his kingdom. These happy signs of sincerity and genuine contrition moved the bishops to tears of joy and sympathy, and, raising him from the ground, they placed themselves on either side of him, and in this order proceeded to the door of the cathedral, chanting the fiftieth psalm. Here he was solemnly absolved from the Excommunication, in the open air; all the people standing round, and the iron-hearted nobles weeping at the sight. The doors of the church were then thrown open to the royal penitent, and the archbishop conducted him in. Mass was celebrated in his presence for the first time after many years. After this, he sat down to table with the archbishop and bishops in much gladness of heart and mirth.

Still, all was not settled; the question of restitu-

tion was big with the elements of dispute. Letters were sent round to the sheriffs, summoning a jury of five lawful men, with a foreman, to appear at St. Alban's on the 4th of August, to assess on oath the compensation due to the clergy. The meeting was held, but the king was not there; he was on the southern coast, preparing for an invasion of France. He was represented by the Bishop of Winchester and the Justiciary; but nothing was done but to issue a proclamation against the exactions of the forest, and other officers of the king. The forest-laws themselves were severe enough, and the tyranny of those who administered them aggravated them tenfold. The king was in the habit of selling the sheriffdoms, and the sheriff consequently sold the subordinate offices; but, however many the intermediate hands, at last the price was paid by the unhappy provincials[1] in fees, fines, drink-money, and under various other pretences.

A second meeting, still more fully attended, was held three weeks afterwards at Westminster. The king was again absent. This seemed ominous. The question of restitution was obliged to be again postponed. But the cry of oppression from the country people now fixed the attention of the synod. The Justiciary had been obliged to promise, the last time, in the king's name, that he would observe the laws of his grandfather Henry. This led to an inquiry what the laws of Henry I. meant. The general meaning of the promise was understood, but few perhaps knew anything more about it. To satisfy this inquiry, the archbishop

[1] Miseris provincialibus. Cont. Hov.

now produced the charter of Henry I. He read and explained it to them. They received it with joy. Here was the very thing they wanted; the very exactions and evil customs which most galled them now, formally renounced and repealed under the King's own seal: no mere vague, traditional "Laws and Usages of Edward the Confessor," but an explicit statute.

The importance attached to a written charter had been on the increase since Henry I.'s time. The sanctity of written law is a growth of the twelfth century. Henry might have meant it at most as a declaration of the king's good pleasure for the time being, but it was now on record.[1] The enrolment of writs of the king's court commences with the reign of John. Hitherto there had been no copies taken, and grants and charters had to be continually renewed.[2] The charter was adopted with loud acclamations, and the barons took an oath before the archbishop that they would contend to the death, if need were, in behalf of these liberties.

In the midst of its deliberations the synod was alarmed by the news of the king's approach in a hostile manner, at the head of his retainers. His foreign expedition had been frustrated by the refusal of the barons to follow him. Those of Northumberland had even gone so far as to plead[3] that they

[1] The charter of Henry I. opens the "Statutes of the Realm."

[2] The series of "The Charter Rolls" commences in the first of John, the "Patent Rolls" in the third, the "Close" and "Fine Rolls" in the sixth.

[3] Rad. Cogg.

were not bound by their feudal tenure to follow him out of England. He determined to punish the more obnoxious of the recusants. With his usual promptness and recklessness of consequences, he set off with such of his own retainers and mercenaries whom he could always draft from the garrisons of his numerous castles,[1] towards the north. Neglecting the assembly at London, he crossed the Thames at Wallingford, and pressed onward on the North road, which then lay through Nottingham. The archbishop followed him, and overtook him at Northampton. He reminded him that it was a violation of the oath which he had taken at his absolution, to make war on any of his liegemen, who had not been condemned by sentence in the king's court. Though John had lately submitted to the Papal legate, yet remonstrance of this nature from one of his own bishops was new to him. Gone from England, never to return, were the days in which a king would submit to the stern rebuke of a priest of God, as Alfred had submitted to St. Neot. Instead of "the smooth applause which Christian kings are accustomed to expect from their loyal prelates," here was opposition, contradiction. Was this the archbishop's gratitude for being allowed to return? With a shout of passion[2] he declared that he was not going to order the affairs of the realm after the archbishop's pleasure; and the next morning, with the first dawn, he was on the road to Nottingham. Thither the archbishop followed him, and by firmness and temperate

[1] Collectis militum copiis. Id.
[2] Cum ingenti strepitu. Wend.

remonstrances,[1] prevailed on him to terminate his quarrel with the Northumbrians in the regular way of proceeding by trial in the king's court.

This was in September. At the end of the month arrived Nicholas, Cardinal-Bishop of Frascati, with a special commission to settle all the matters in dispute between the king and the clergy. He had been despatched from Rome as soon as news of the events at Dover arrived there, and was recommended by Innocent both to the King of France, through whose territory he was to pass, and to the King of England, to whom he was to come as "an angel of health and peace." Wherever the legate was present, the Interdict was suspended for the time; and on his whole route to London, the clergy received him with processions and chaunts, and in their festival robes.

At Michaelmas, the king, in a great synod of the bishops and lords, met him at London. During three days, the points in dispute, and especially the restitution, were discussed. The king repeated in full assembly the act of homage, and paid the first instalment of the annual tribute, one thousand marks. He promised to reform the administration of the county courts, and to set on foot a commission of inquiry into the sums extorted in this way by the county officers; but it came to nothing. The great difficulty was the question of restitution. The king offered, in plenary compensation, one hundred thousand marks of silver to be paid down, and if by the returns of the commission it should appear that more had been taken away, he was

[1] Eum rationabiliter arguens. Cogg.

ready to give security that he would, before Easter, make good this to the satisfaction of the legate. To Nicholas this seemed all that could be desired, and his surprise was great to see the coldness and dissatisfaction with which the synod received the offer.

It was no doubt a large sum for the king to pay. The whole amount of the royal revenue for two years was proved by Hubert, when (1196) he resigned the office of high justiciary, to be but one million of marks. On the other hand, we may well suppose that it would be but a pitiful compensation for the waste and damage of six years, when it came to be divided among the whole number of sufferers. Not only had they been kept out of the annual produce of their lands, which had either remained untilled, or gone to those who had the custody of them; but on their return to their homes they had found their houses and barns burnt, their serfs dispersed, their timber cut down, their herds and flocks disappeared, and their whole lands wasted by wanton dilapidation. This was not merely loss, but was a prospect of actual starvation. They were returned, but only to want and destitution. The contrast, too, of the condition of such as had purchased immunity by siding with the king, aggravated the mortification. While wandering over the continent, the sympathy of brethren, the consciousness of suffering for Christ, and the hope of a happy return, supported them. The persecution was now past, they were restored, and the heart-sickening sense of desolation had succeeded to the excitement of continually renewed

hope. It is easy to think that a religious ought to be indifferent to this world's goods; but the greatest part of these exiles were not religious: and the monk's objects of attachment are few, and therefore strong; and what they had lost was not the superfluities of wealth, but their all.

It must be confessed, however, that this tenacity on the part of the clergy has a very ill look. There was no principle involved. It were to be wished that, like St. Thomas, they had disdained to let money be a cause of discord, above all, while the removal of the Interdict awaited the final settlement. Hence we cannot be surprised when we find the king afterwards attempting to buy off the opposition of the bishops, by offering them separately fifteen thousand marks; hoping thus to detach them from the cause of the inferior clergy.[1] The bishops could not give a direct refusal to the king's offer, so they proposed that the decision should be adjourned till the inquest, which was in progress, should be completed. The king readily caught at a proposal of delay, always agreeable to him,[2] —and the more so, as during the sitting, letters were brought from Rome requiring restitution to Queen Berengaria, and Simon de Montfort, a subject from which he always made haste to escape.

Altogether the representation made by the new legate of the real state of things in England, had a great effect at Rome. Hitherto Innocent had only heard the king's cause through the medium of the king's clerks—a class not very likely to inspire much confidence. About the end of the year a

[1] Ann. Wav. [2] Dilectam sibi dilationem. Wend.

crowd of English clergy presented themselves at Rome. For though the excommunicated laymen, or who had consorted with the excommunicate, were absolved by their own bishops, ecclesiastics in the same condition could have it nowhere but at Rome. John de Gray and the Abbot of Beaulieu were among them. Through them the king petitioned that his person and chapels should never be subjected to an Interdict except by an immediate sentence from the Pope. Not only was this granted, but in a letter to the king, Innocent prayed that in any future disagreement with his clergy, the king, instead of taking the matter roughly into his own hands, would refer at once to the Holy See, from whose bounty he might obtain more indulgence than he could by violent acts of power.[1]

The suspicious eye with which the English clergy began to be looked upon at Rome was further augmented by a new dispute which arose between them and the legate. During the Interdict a great many vacancies had occurred in church preferments, including bishoprics and abbeys; and part of the legate's commission had been to provide that they should, as soon as possible, be filled up. Now over and above the confusion attending the Interdict, there was an abiding tendency in the English Church to a state of things which, in the eyes of a Papal legate, would seem simply laxity and irregularity. The canons of the Church, and the rules of religious orders, were in numberless instances set aside or modified by the peculiar habits of the people. A strict observance of the letter of

[1] Inn. Ep. xvi. 130.

the rule, not common anywhere, was hardly at any period found in an English monastery. There was a comfortable, accommodating, family way of going on, which long custom had led them to regard as the right of their church. This had its origin partly in the physical insulation of the kingdom—a fact which, with all the multiplied intercourse of modern times, still has an effect—partly in the old Saxon traditions, but chiefly in the way in which the English sovereigns, even the best, looked upon the English Church as *their* church, and the clergy as *their* clergy. In its earliest age, one of the difficulties Augustine and the Roman missionaries had to encounter was a similar feeling prevailing among the British Christians; and all through its history there has been a secular party who have maintained laxity and licence under the garb of independence. Hence the peculiar jealousy with which clergy and people ever regarded the interference of an Italian legate, and their anxiety that that office, if exercised at all, should at least be exercised by a native bishop. It was humiliating, too, to an Archbishop of Canterbury to have to lower his cross before the stranger's; for, like the fasces of old Rome, the cross of an inferior prelate could not be borne in the presence of the superior, and all gave way before that of a legate.[1]

The Reformation itself, in one view, was but an exaggerated access of the hereditary malady which had been long kept under by the moral influence of the Holy See. In the tenth and sixteenth cen-

[1] Inn. Ep. ix. 238.

turies, this moral influence was next to nothing; the disease of the centre affected the extremities, and at those two periods the world and worldly men were uppermost.

Thus when Nicholas, to whom English usages were nothing, and Catholic rules everything, began to depose abbots for misgovernment,[1] and to fill up churches without regard to the wishes of chapters, and the private arrangements of patrons, the native clergy began to be indignant.[2] There were the old charges; he ordained unfit persons, preferred the king's clerks or his own chaplains.

Unhappily there was too much room for recrimination. They pointed sarcastically to a train of fifty knights, and a long retinue of servants who attended him, and which he had acquired in England. The entertainment to which a legate had a right from the clergy wherever he went, was at all times felt as a burden, but it was ruinous when fifty knights were to be lodged and fed. Still more than the tax on their stores, good men felt the inconsistency of such pomp with the office. With what effect could one, who overnight entered the abbey he was to visit in princely state, and required all the luxuries of a court for his own use, the next day in chapter rebuke the brethren for exceeding their rule, and recall them to their sackcloth and two dishes a day? When in 1204 Innocent sent three legates to endeavour to stem the torrent of heresy in the south of France, they moved from

[1] Westminster, Evesham, Bardon.

[2] Timebant sibi arbores qui inutiliter locum regiminis occupabant. Cont. Hov.

city to city with their rich equipage of servitors, fine horses, and rich clothes. They preached, and held everywhere formal disputations to confute the heretics; they might do so, but the heresy grew and spread daily. They were in despair, and thought of resigning their mission. At Montpellier they fell in by accident with two Spanish travellers. One of them was a Bishop. "We know something of this country," he said to them, "and you will never convert this people by words. Your example does more harm than your preaching does good. It is the luxury of churchmen that is their great argument against your religion. Send away your retinue, rid yourselves of your baggage, and oppose the humility of true religion to their false sanctity."

However, the legate Nicholas went on his way in despite of the opposition, and the complaints of the clergy. Some appealed to Rome, but the legate who knew his ground well, and that he was not exceeding legatine powers, suspended them. The archbishop was urged by his clergy to resist what they felt as an usurpation. In January 1214 he summoned his suffragans to meet him at Dunstaple. From this place he sent two of his clerks to the legate, who was at Burton-on-Trent, to announce that he had appealed to Rome, and forbade him, pending the appeal, to institute clerks into the vacant churches within his province, contrary to the rights and honour of the see of Canterbury. The legate paid no attention to this, but proceeded as before. He sent, however, Pandulph to Rome to vindicate his conduct to the Pope. The archbishop made choice of his brother, Simon Langton, for his envoy.

Thus Innocent was called on for an exercise of judgment in one of those difficult cases so often presented to the Holy See—that of deciding between two opposite statements made by men who, by station, character, and experience, were both equally entitled to credence. The legate gave the highest accounts of John's dispositions and sincerity. He declared he had never seen a prince so humble and moderate, while the bishops were too covetous and exacting in the matter of the restitution, and showed an inclination to rob the crown of its just prerogatives. Langton, on the other hand, had to urge that the legate had been gained by the king; that he was, in secret, bartering away the liberties of the English Church, unjustly invading the rights of nations, and only careful to provide for his own family and clerks.

We have no means of deciding in this quarrel where the blame, or most of it, lay. The decision of the Holy See was no doubt founded on as full a view of the case as could be had. No time was lost in fixing the amount to be paid by the king. The claims of the bishops, which had been sent to Rome, having been examined, their indemnity was limited to one hundred thousand marks. But not to postpone the removal of the Interdict, they were to be content with forty thousand paid down, including the sums already received, and the remaining sixty thousand were to be paid by half-yearly instalments of six thousand marks.[1] Innocent delicately reminded the archbishop that he had already, in many things, exceeded his powers—

[1] Wend. compared with Inn. Ep. xiv. 164.

among others, by venturing to relax the Interdict in the royal chapels, and to celebrate in the king's presence; but that he would pass over this violation of order out of his regard for the freedom of the bishops, which he was unwilling should even seem to be trespassed on. On the other hand, the legate received so severe a rebuke for the conduct complained of, that he thought it necessary to return to Rome with all speed.

He did not take his departure, however, till he had recalled the Interdict. About the 1st of July[1] (1214) he summoned the bishops, abbots, barons, and all others concerned in the matter, to London. The restitution was arranged agreeably to the Papal award. It was found, however, that even of the sum of forty thousand marks to be paid down, fifteen thousand were not forthcoming. For this, however, the bishops consented to accept the bond of the Bishops of Winchester and Norwich, who were absent themselves, having followed the king to Poitou. And then at last, to the great joy of all men, in the church of St. Paul, the legate solemnly removed the Interdict, after it had continued six years, three months, and fourteen days. The aisles of old St. Paul's, so long silent, echoed to the notes of the Te Deum, and the bells, that had so long hung mute, proclaimed the happy event to the city and neighbourhood.

Such settlements, after a great convulsion, always leave some wrongs unrighted. Though the exiles had been compensated, those who stayed behind, and had

[1] Die apostolorum Petri et Pauli; Wend. Crastino Processi et Martiniani; Wav. Dunstap.

obeyed the Interdict, had also been in no small degree sufferers. The legate had not quitted the synod, when there appeared before him an innumerable multitude of religious of every condition: abbots, abbesses, priors, Templars, and Hospitallers, laying before him all they had suffered in limb and property by the ill-treatment of the king's officers. The legate could do nothing for them; he was compelled to reply, that his instructions made no mention of them or their claim; and that their only remedy was to apply to the Holy See itself.

Peace, however, seemed now restored to the English Church, and the whole kingdom. The religious might be content to forget their past losses in the prospect of serving God in quiet the remainder of their lives. But the momentary appearance of tranquillity was deceitful, and a severer storm than that now passed over was at hand. We have already seen it lowering in the distance.

CHAPTER VI

It is well known, that the one great object of the Great Charter was the protection of the barons, or tenants in chief of the crown. To define what was undefined, to regulate what had hitherto been arbitrary in the feudal system, and to limit the claims of the crown on its tenants, is its principal business. Two other classes, however, are comprehended in its benefits: — 1. The rights and liberties granted by the king to his own vassals were extended to the subvassals, including the inhabitants of cities and boroughs, who were sometimes the vassals, or "men" of the king, but oftener of some lord, or great monastery. 2. The clergy, the bishops and abbots, as holders of fiefs, participated in the liberties granted to such. But the very first clause of the Charter concerned the Church itself, whose well-being was the common interest of all, and did not concern ecclesiastics only. It secured the right of free election to the chapters. "The English Church[1] shall be free, and shall have her whole rights and liberties inviolable; and we will that this be so observed. And that such is our pleasure appears from this, that the freedom of elections, which was reputed most requisite for the English Church, we did, of our mere and free will,

[1] Anglicana ecclesia libera sit.

before the quarrel between ourselves and our barons, grant, and by our charter confirm, and did obtain the confirmation of the same from our lord Pope Innocent III.; the same we will ourselves observe, and we will the same to be observed by our heirs for ever."

Excepting the villains, then, every class of society was united in this movement against the king, and the liberties of every class were concentred. And the villains were not overlooked or omitted, as of no importance, but because in the political system of that time they had no place. Not being "legales homines," the Charter, which was a legal act, could not take cognizance of them. Their good treatment depended on the character of the holder of the fief, and was a private duty, of moral and religious, not legal, obligation. This might, then, be a defect in the system, but it is no defect in the Charter, which proposed to restore, not to revolutionise that system.

Thus unanimously called for by the whole nation, and allowed by the monarchs themselves to be equitable, and having for their object simply the putting on record, the making statute, of what had hitherto been custom, and thus putting a limit to exactions which, under pretext of a vague custom, were continually creeping onwards; it is no wonder that the provisions of the Charter should have been eagerly embraced by the clergy. They saw only the misery and disorder caused by the anarchy into which the existing system, uncorrected, had, in the lapse of time, degenerated. An act of violence or oppression committed at the top of the feudal scale

was sure, sooner or later, to descend upon the tillers of the ground; whoever were the gainers, they were inevitably the sufferers. And when the farmer or the serf suffered, his complaint was carried to the priest of his parish, who alone would sympathise, or perhaps understand his language.

In thus sanctioning and seconding the attempt of the barons, the English clergy overlooked two important points in the case:—1. That even supposing the limits they proposed to set to the king's power to be ever so just and necessary, they were parties, not judges, and that by the recognised law of Christendom the case ought to have been referred to the Holy See for a judicial sentence. 2. That in "moving war" against their lord, the barons were violating the first principle of that very system to which they professed to be appealing, and committing the greatest public crime that a vassal could commit.

These observations were necessary to explain what seems so surprising at first view, that Innocent, who so firmly carried through the late struggle in behalf of Langton against the king, is now found supporting the king, and condemning the archbishop and barons.

It is needless to go through all the steps by which the barons endeavoured to compass the object they had now proposed to themselves,—the confirmation, namely, of the Charter of Henry I. Their slow, timorous indecision contrasts strongly with the active, unhesitating energy of John. They were afraid of the king. Wonderful as this seems, when we find him returning to England after his whole

party on the Continent had been broken by the defeat at Bovines (July 27), to see himself equally deserted by the English nobility. He kept his Christmas court at Worcester (1215), but it was blank and deserted, and before the day was over, the king had left the city. While he was resisting the Church, they had thronged around him, in spite of the excommunication; now he was reconciled to the Church, and they shunned him. His partiality to his countrymen sealed his unpopularity. He employed and trusted them alone. Peter de Roches had been made Justiciary, and he was a Poitevin.

"Hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madenti."

But though he seemed forsaken by all, they feared him; they feared his foreign troops, of whom he had still many in his garrisons. All through the contest, we can see the superiority of the foreigners in arms. Still more they feared his personal character. An utterly unscrupulous man is always formidable. And now, too, they knew that they were in the wrong, and that their present enterprise accordingly was opposed by the Pope; and they were afraid of one another. Living always isolated and independent in their several castles, pursuing singly their selfish ends, each man for himself, the feudal lords had always great difficulty in confederating for any purpose; each one hung back, waiting for his neighbour to declare himself first. They had meeting after meeting, and oath upon oath, before they dared trust themselves to an open declaration against a king, who seemed without a friend.

On the 7th of January he was in London at the New Temple; and the barons presented themselves before him, with an insolent display of their armed retainers,[1] and demanded the Charter of Henry I. Resistance was useless, and the king requested delay till Easter. The interval he spent in endeavouring to gain friends and support in various ways. He caused the oath of fidelity, and the homage to himself, to be renewed throughout the kingdom. "Moved by fear, rather than devotion,"[2] he took the cross for the crusade against the heretics of the south, which was then being preached with great zeal both in England and France. In this extremity he voluntarily renounced the claim or abuse of nomination to church dignities—a usurpation which the Norman monarchs cherished among their most valuable prerogatives. He granted a charter to this effect to all conventual and collegiate churches, saving only to the crown the right of custody during vacancy, and the grant of leave to proceed to election. This Charter was sent to Rome immediately for ratification, and being accepted there as the final termination of the long dispute, confirmed Innocent in his opinion of the king's sincerity, and his disposition to support him. The liberty thus granted was not a dead letter, for several abbeys which had lain vacant since the Interdict immediately availed themselves of it, and for once exercised, without dispute, the right of free choice of their head.[3]

[1] In lascivo satis apparatu militari. Wend.
[2] Id.
[3] Chron. Dunst.

But the barons persevered. Easter came. The king kept it at Woodstock and Oxford, but his court was thin; and, worst of all, he could not depend even on those who showed themselves. The Earls of Pembroke, Chester, Warenne, and others, remained, but rather for the purpose of using their influence in favour of the confederates, than to support John against them. The archbishop in particular had a difficult part to act. Anxious for the Charter, he remained with the king, and did his utmost to induce him to grant it. Nearly the whole baronage of the kingdom in arms, with their retainers, advanced to Brackley, within twenty miles of Oxford. The king sent the archbishop and the Earl of Pembroke, and desired to know, "What were the laws and liberties which they sought?" They produced a paper, the heads of which were reported to the king by the archbishop. "And why," said he, with a scornful laugh, "do they not ask my kingdom also?" and swore he would never grant them liberties which would make him a slave.

On receiving this answer, they appealed openly to force. They defied the king,[1] and renounced their homage, and erecting themselves and followers into the "Army of God and the Holy Church," gave the command of it to Robert Fitzwalter. Fitzwalter had fled into France in 1212, having become an object of suspicion to John, but had been reconciled to him in the following way:—When the truce with Philip was concluded, after the battle of Bovines, a tournament was held in presence of the two monarchs. In the first course, the English champion,

[1] Regem diffiduciantes. Cont. Hov.

who concealed his name, rode down his French antagonist, horse and man; on which John swore, "by God's teeth, he deserves to be a king who has such a soldier in his train!" The knight was Fitzwalter, and his friends seized the fortunate moment, and reconciled him to the king, who gave him the castle of Hereford to hold. But he was one of the most active in organising the confederacy, having, if popular tradition may be trusted, private as well as public grounds of hostility to John.[1]

The king had no force with him; but their object was not his person, but his castles. These strongholds covered the country in every direction; and being garrisoned by trained soldiers, under the command of foreigners, were impregnable to a mere feudal force unprovided with engines. Fifteen days were accordingly consumed in a fruitless blockade of Northampton, and the confederates were glad to cover the disgrace of their retreat by the occupation of Bedford, which was betrayed to them. Here they received a secret invitation from some of the principal citizens of London. Marching all night, they entered it in the morning of Sunday, while the forty thousand inhabitants were at mass in its one hundred and twenty churches.[2] Here they replenished their treasury by confiscations of the Jews and the king's adherents; the houses of the former they demolished, and employed the stones in repairing the walls of the city. The tower was still held by the king's garrison.[3]

[1] Among other crimes fixed on John by doubtful tradition is the poisoning of Maud, Fitzwalter's daughter; *vid.* Ritson's Robin Hood, p. 19.

[2] Pet. Bles., Ep. 151.

[3] Rad. Cogg.

From London they sent letters to all the holders of fiefs in the kingdom who had hitherto held back, calling on them to stand with the barons for the peace and liberties of the realm. All who should refuse, they would treat as public enemies. On this, the few who still seemed to adhere to John, forsook him, and his cause became desperate. Excepting the king's foreign garrisons, the whole country north of the Thames was in open rebellion; the Court of Exchequer, and the county courts ceased; none would pay any dues, or acknowledge the king in anything. He yielded a second time, and sent to London, requesting the confederates to fix a day for the interview.

On the 18th of June, accordingly, he descended from his castle of Windsor, to a meadow that lay at its feet, along the south bank of the Thames. To this place the baronial host advanced from their quarters in the city of London. Pavilions were pitched for the king, and the principal parties of both sides, during a discussion, which was prolonged for several days. The scene of the final ratification of the Charter is said to be a small island in the Thames, not far above Ankerwyke, in Bucks, which still bears the name of Magna Charta Island.[1]

Pandulph had assisted at the negotiations; and as soon as they were concluded he was sent to Rome, to relate what had taken place. A second deputation immediately followed him, to urge the nullity of a deed extorted by violence and rebellion, and

[1] Manning and Bray, Hist. of Surrey, iii.

in disregard of the rights of suzerainty over the realm, which were now vested in the Holy See.

Innocent consulted the cardinals; and on the 24th of August the ambassadors received a bull, which bore that "The King of England had in truth gravely offended against the Church, but had since turned from his evil courses, had given compensation, and had granted a full and entire liberty to the Church of England. The old enemy of man, however, had fomented new disputes between him and his barons. These had constituted themselves judges, as well as parties, in their own cause, and had risen, vassals against their lord, knights against their king, and had not scrupled to league themselves with his avowed enemies, laying waste his domains and possessing themselves, by way of treachery, of London, the seat of the kingdom. Not regarding the king's appeals to the Pope, as his liege lord, his offers of submitting to arbiters to be appointed jointly by himself and the barons, and his privileges as having taken the cross, they had compelled him by force and fear to an unlawful composition, derogatory of his royal rights and prerogative. This composition and agreement being in itself unlawful, the Pope, by the authority committed to him, therefore declares null and void."

At the same time he wrote to the barons, urging them "to make a virtue of necessity, and voluntarily to renounce this composition, that so the king might be induced by this concession on their parts, to amend, of his own free will, those things of which they complained. To this the Pope would endeavour to move him; for as he was unwilling that the

king should lose his rights, so he was desirous that he should cease from burdening the barons. Let them, then, during the approaching general council, send duly qualified proctors to Rome, securely committing themselves to the good pleasure of the Holy See; which, by God's good favour, would provide that all disorders and abuses be banished from the realm of England, that the king's honour should be satisfied, and clergy and people enjoy peace and due immunity."

But affairs in England were too far gone to be settled by law, or arbitration. Both parties had hopes of success in their own way; and the voice of a spiritual and invisible power appealing to the conscience of the inner man, was drowned in the external din of arms. The barons knew, that whether absolved or not from his oath, John would never submit to be bound by the Charter; and they saw themselves strong by a rare union among themselves. John, on his part, was bent on revenge for the mortifications to which he had been compelled to stoop, and by the daily influx of foreign soldiers, began to have hopes of soon being a match for his enemy.

Actual hostilities began at Rochester. The Archbishop of Canterbury claimed the wardenship of this and the Tower of London, in right of his see, and the king had put them into Langton's hands: but Langton, seeing that the king occupied himself, ever since the granting the Charter, in preparations for war, suffered William D'Aubigny, with a party of knights, to seize Rochester for the barons.

John had fixed on Dover as the rendezvous of

the foreign soldiers, whom his agents were collecting from every part of the Continent, and he spent three weeks in receiving and organising them.

The soldiers thus obtained were levied among those freebooting bands by whom the whole of Europe west of the Rhine was at this time overrun. When Lewis the Young, attended by most of the great seigneurs of France, was absent in Palestine, bands of depredators began to form in different parts for the purposes of plunder. The withdrawal of the strong hand of the great lords left the country and smaller towns at their mercy. Outlaws, soldiers of broken fortune returning from the Crusades, and the restless and lawless of all sorts, contributed to swell their ranks, till, from nightly marauders, they formed themselves in many places into regular bands, which kept together all the year, under a fixed commander. These bands would unite again, and form small armies, for the assault of some town or castle. While there was no war—a thing which seldom happened in the twelfth century—they sheltered themselves in the vast forests which covered so much of the country, and in the more mountainous parts of Auvergne and Burgundy; the valleys at the root of the Pyrenees swarmed with them. Besides the general appellations of Coteraux and Routiers, they went in different parts of the country by national appellations, as Brabançons, Bretons. . . . It was, in fact, a return to the life of their remote ancestors. The German tribes, who had successively overrun the empire, were not nations or clans, but "voluntary and fluctuating associations of soldiers." The Alemanni, the Suevi, the Saxons, the Franks themselves were but bands of warriors united

for temporary purposes, assuming the name of some distinguished tribe, and submitting voluntarily to some successful chief, who led them from their woods or marshes to ravage the provinces. In time of war they flocked like vultures to the scene; and princes began to find it convenient to hire them in whole troops into their service. Becket had first suggested this to Henry II. They were more practised soldiers, and more easily held together than the feudal tenants. All they required was pay and plunder; while they had these, their fidelity might be safely counted on. In process of time a kind of military honour arose among them, different from the notions of feudal allegiance. Many of their captains raised themselves to territorial rank by courage and conduct. Like piracy in the heroic times, their profession began to be esteemed honourable. A close friendship existed between Richard I. and Mercadier, a captain of Routiers. Mercadier made his first essay in arms under Richard, when Duke of Aquitaine. While Richard was in Palestine, Mercadier remained at home, diligently improving his fortunes. On the king's return, he rejoined his former master, and from that time they became inseparable. The personal prowess and daring hardihood of the freebooter, with a savage barbarity delighting in bloodshed, were qualities congenial to Richard. They rode together, lodged in the same tent, and fought side by side. When Richard received his death-wound Mercadier was at his side, Mercadier's physician attended him, and the cruel revenge he took on the unhappy cross-bow-man attested the grief and rage that afflicted the Routier at the loss of his crowned comrade.

But though useful and acceptable to the great lords, there was a class of society of whom these Free Companions were the terror and the scourge. Unlike the famous English outlaw, they made war on the poor population of the open country and the small towns. They took the corn and cattle of the farmer, and massacred the peasants in sport. The Church then began to interfere. The Lateran council, in 1179, excommunicated all these armed robbers, as well as all lords who should take them into pay, or harbour them on their lands; and enacted that it should be lawful to reduce to slavery those of them who should be taken in arms. The brigands repaid this resistance of the Church by a special fury against the persons and property of the clergy. Neither church nor shrine afforded protection; chalices and altar-plate were a favourite object of rapine, and the most revolting profanities were perpetrated by them. "Wherever they went," says Rigord,[1] "they made prisoners of the priests and religious, dragging them about with them, and calling them in mockery, *chanters*, bade them chant in the midst of their sufferings. Some were so beaten that they died on the spot; others, held in long captivity, returned half-dead to their homes, by ransom. The churches they pillaged; even the Lord's body, which was kept there in silver or gold vessels, for the needs of the sick, they took—oh most grievous!—in hands dyed in human blood, and throwing it on the ground, trampled on it. The linen corporals they made into hoods for their concubines, and with hammers they

[1] De Gest. Philip. p. 11.

broke up the sacred vessels, stripping them of the jewels that enriched them."

As the great seigneurs rather encouraged this pest, the people were obliged to protect themselves. "The Lord[1] heard their cry, and sent them a deliverer—neither emperor, king, prince, nor prelate, but a poor man, named Durant." An association was formed for the extirpation of the plundering bands; its members were called "The Men of Peace." This fraternity gradually spread itself over the centre and south of France, till the Routiers found themselves encircled by a net of armed foes wherever they moved. A war of extermination was waged against them; one by one they were cut off, and on one or two occasions whole armies of them were massacred. At Dun le Roi in Berri, ten thousand of them are said to have been slaughtered by the Brethren of Peace in 1183. Parts of France and the Low Countries, however, continued to shelter considerable bodies of them. From the vast forest of Ardennes they could never be expelled; and numbers began to exercise the profession of robber in a more legal way. Forsaking the forest life, and not disturbing the peace of the country on their own account, these, like the Free Companies of a later age, were ready to engage under any prince for a specified term, during which they fought for him, and plundered for themselves; and when their term of service was expired, retired with what they had gained to their own homes. Thus the Routiers of the twelfth century became, by slow transition, the standing army of the seventeenth.

[1] Grand Chron. de S. Denys.

Such were the materials with which John was now preparing to conquer England. He had begun to be an outlaw in his own kingdom: nothing remained to him but his garrisoned castles. With a small attendance he shifted from fortress to fortress over the uninhabited downs of Wiltshire, or spent whole nights at sea, not daring to trust himself on land. In September he got into Dover Castle, and every day saw fresh bodies of foreign troops arrive.

The men of Poitou and Gascony, the king's own vassals, were brought over by Savary de Mauleon, whom John had made seneschal of Poitou. The Norman mercenaries were led by Foulkes de Breaute, a captain of Routiers, who was to John almost what Mercadier had been to his brother Richard. A Norman of illegitimate birth, he had entered the service of the King of England with no other possessions than his horse and armour. John soon made him governor of Bedford Castle, and afterwards provided for him by giving him a rich heiress, Margaret de Redviers, in marriage, and entrusting to him the castles of Oxford, Northampton, and Cambridge. "This adventurer," says Matthew Paris, "was known to be ready for any crime. He ever went beyond the orders he received, in the cruelty with which he executed them, which endeared him to the king." But "those who went into the house of God, and saw the end of these men," noted that such instruments of cruelty mostly met with a violent and miserable end. This infamous robber[1] ended his life in banishment and poverty[2] at St. Cyr, fulfilling hereby a vision which the legate Pandulph had con-

[1] Prædo nequissimus. Wend. [2] Morte miserâ.

cerning him, on occasion of his excesses at St. Albans. He saw him in a vision standing in the choir of the church, when suddenly a large stone detached itself from the tower, and falling on his head, crushed him altogther.

Gerard of Sotteghem, and Walter Buck had drawn from Louvain and Brabant bands "who thirsted for nothing but human blood, and neither feared God nor respected men;"[1] but the most important levy was that made in Flanders by Hugh de Boves. This man, "a good knight, but a proud man and a lawless,"[2] was sent over with a great sum of money to co-operate with a certain Robert de Bethune, half freebooter, half seigneur. He carried a sackful of letters of invitation from the king to the Flemish lords, passing them off for lampreys, to withdraw them from the curiosity of the inhabitants of Dover. De Boves durst not land in Flanders, for fear of the King of France, but anchoring off Inne, he soon filled a large fleet of transports with recruits. They set sail for England on the eve of SS. Cosmas and Damian, when they encountered the same westerly wind which at the same season, five centuries later, so nearly proved fatal to the next invading fleet that sailed from that shore. The fleet was dispersed in all directions, to Holland and to Denmark, but the greater part were driven among the sandbanks of the Suffolk coast. So great a multitude of corpses were washed on shore here that the air was infected by them; they were the bodies not only of men, but of women and children; and it was believed, not without grounds, that the king had granted the

[1] Wend. [2] Miles strenuus sed superbus et iniquus. V.

counties of Norfolk and Suffolk to Hugh de Boves, to settle them with Flemings, and extirpate the native English. The few who escaped the sea were made slaves of by the English, into whose hands they fell.[1]

The lapse of centuries has altered the form, but not the character of this coast. On a bank, in sight of the ancient town of Dunwich, once the capital of a Saxon kingdom, and seat of a bishop's see,[2] the ships of the two captains struck. Hugh de Boves perished at once with all his crew and treasure. Two boats put off from the shore to the other vessel. As they neared the sandbank the knights drew their swords to keep back the inferior part of the crew from crowding into the boats. This selfish movement cost them their lives. At sight of the drawn swords the boatmen stopped. A priest and a boy, who could swim, threw themselves into the water and made for the boats. The next tide swept away all the rest.[3]

In October, the king heard that D'Aubigny had been left by the barons in Rochester Castle with not more than a hundred knights. He immediately set off to surprise him. The Fleming, Robert de Bethune, expressed his wonder that the king should make the attempt with so weak a force. "I know them too well," was John's answer, "to esteem or to fear them. And to say the truth, I am more grieved that strangers should see what cowards my

[1] Cogg.

[2] John had, not long before, granted Dunwich a charter of wreck, which on this occasion must have been fearfully productive.

[3] Chron. Norm.

English are, than at all the mischief they are doing myself."[1]

The barons had taken an oath to relieve D'Aubigny if he should be attacked. Seven hundred men accordingly left London on the road for Rochester, but hearing that the king's army was increasing every day, they turned back to their comfortable quarters in London. Here they passed their time in drinking the best of wines, and playing dice, leaving Rochester to its fate.

If the king's contempt was justified by the general conduct of the barons, the defence of Rochester castle was an exception. "So strenuous and persevering a siege, and so stout a defence, there was never the like in our days."[2] The castle itself was one of the strongest in the kingdom. Since Odo had held it against the whole force of England, Normans and Saxons united, under William Rufus, it had been undergoing constant fortification under its new holders, the Archbishops of Canterbury. "Whence it was much in the eye of such as were the authors of troubles following within the realm, so that from time to time it had a part in almost every tragedy."[3] Five mangonels, day and night, hurled a never-ceasing shower of stones against the wall. But the solidity of Bishop Gundulph's Norman masonry was proof against every species of attack but mining.

[1] This brings to mind what is told of James II. "When King James was at Dublin, 1689, the French ambassador came transported to tell him the news, that his master's fleet had defeated the English in Bantry Bay; instead of being pleased he let fall the air of his countenance, and coldly answered, 'It is then the first time!'" Higgons, note on Burnet.

[2] Cont. Hov.

[3] Lambarde.

In this way great part of the outer wall had been thrown down, but the knights still maintained themselves in an inner tower. But when they had eaten everything that could be eaten, even to the war-horses, and the last morsel of all was gone, "a strait which was hard for them that had been brought up in delicacy,"[1] they thought it pitiful to perish of hunger, when they could not be beaten at arms. On St. Andrew's Day they went out of the tower, and presented themselves before the king. Of the hundred knights, one only had been killed by the javelin of an engine. In those days, the more obstinate the defence the better the terms granted to the defenders. But John defied the rules of chivalry, as well as those of religion. He ordered them all to be hung. But the experienced eye of the soldier of fortune saw the danger to himself of such a precedent. "None of the foreign knights," said Savary de Mauleon, "will serve under you on such conditions. The enemy will retaliate on us, not on you." Harsh captivity and heavy ransom was all the revenge John durst indulge in towards the knights. But for those who formed the majority of the garrison, the servants and crossbow-men, who had shared the privations of the siege, and whose fidelity and valour had been proved alike with theirs, neither the laws of honourable warfare, nor the self-interest of the foreign captains, were concerned in their fate. John had before cut off a hand and a foot from a number whom the besieged had turned out as useless mouths. These could not look for more clemency.

[1] Cont. Hov.

Unlike many tyrants, John did not make up for his hatred of the great by any sympathy with the humble. To the surprise of everyone, however, he spared the lives of all, singling out for his vengeance one crossbow-man only, who had been brought up in the king's service from a boy. The rest were distributed as slaves among the foreign soldiers, till any of their former masters should think it worth his while to pay a ransom for any of them.

This success encouraged the king's party as much as it disheartened that of the barons. Their remissness was justly censured. They had lain in London inactive throughout the siege. It is hard to say which they feared most—the foreign knights, or the fierce resolution of the king's character. But the real secret of their apathy was the consciousness that they had gone too far; that the right was no longer on their side. This was a feeling gradually gaining ground, both in and out of the kingdom; and as soon as the Church should publish and warrant it, their partisans would fast fall off.

And in the course of the siege this declaration came. On the representation of the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishop of London, whom the king had sent to Rome, a bull was sent to England excommunicating "all the disturbers of the king and realm of England." At the time this bull arrived, Langton was on the point of setting out for the General Council,[1] which was now sitting at Rome. The Bishop of Winchester, and Pandulph the deacon, two of the three to whom the bull was

[1] Fourth Lateran, sat from All-Saints' to St. Andrew's Day, the whole month of November.

addressed, hastened to him after he was already on board ship, and begged his order to his suffragans throughout the province of Canterbury for the publication of the bull. Their promptitude was a sad trial for the archbishop. If he could have got to Rome without acknowledgment of the bull, he thought his representations of John's real designs would have induced Innocent to alter his present policy. This was to admit the king's repentance and submission as real. Whether it was so or no, as a judge, a Pope must accept outward, overt acts, as done *bonâ fide*, whatever presumption of hypocrisy the penitent's previous character may raise. Such acts on John's part had been, the restitution, the act of humiliation, and the taking the cross.

But there seems no reason to think his repentance other than sincere; as much so at least as the first repentance of an habitually wicked mind can be. Humanly speaking, where there has been a Christian education, there is always hope that the conscience may awaken. The most hopeless case is the decent and respectable sinner in Protestant countries, where training of the conscience in youth is neglected. There is no part of such an one's nature to which Divine warnings can appeal. There is more hope of a profligate tyrant of the thirteenth century than of such: and again, none can set limits to God's power of touching the heart from within. Ahab repented, and was forgiven. Henry II. had done so severe a penance, and with so true a compunction, for St. Thomas's murder, that "all who beheld, wept thereat."[1] And John's past conduct, and his

[1] Ut omnes videntes ad lacrymas cogeret. Rob. de Monte.

dying behaviour, seem to justify the contemporary chronicler in assigning as one of the motives of his yielding that "he had so greatly offended God and the holy Church, that he began altogether to despair of the salvation of his soul."[1]

But Langton wanted more than that the king should be reconciled to the Church. He sought the formal security of the Charter. John might have been sincere at first; but his continuing so, with an army at his command, was unlikely. The archbishop could not bring himself to publish the excommunication against the confederate barons. In neglecting the bull, he was certainly wrong. It was ecclesiastical law, and he was bound to publish it as such. If it was founded on partial representations, he might appeal against it afterwards. However, he did not refuse to publish it, but begged the two commissioners that its publication might be postponed till he had an interview with the pontiff. This they could not do, and at once proceeded to put one of its clauses into operation against himself, as refusing his obedience; they pronounced him suspended from his sacerdotal, as well as episcopal functions. He made no resistance as he might have done, under the usual pretext of an appeal, but proceeded on his journey, observing the suspension with all humility. The bull was immediately published in England, being read in all the churches on Sundays and festivals. But as it only excommunicated the disturbers of the realm in general, and did not name any of the barons, they paid no regard to it, pretending it did not apply to them.

[1] De animæ suæ salute penitus desperabat. Wend.

On Langton's appearance at Rome, the Abbot of Beaulieu was there as his accuser. He represented the archbishop's connivance at the attempt of the barons to dethrone the king, and his neglect of the bull of excommunication. Langton made no defence, but humbly petitioned to be absolved from the suspension. "Not so, brother; you will not so easily get absolution for all the harm you have done, not to the King of England only, but to the Roman Church. We will take full counsel with our brethren here, what your punishment must be," was Innocent's answer. His suspension was accordingly confirmed; Innocent being grieved at the part he had taken, the rather that he had himself procured his promotion.[1] It was removed before Easter; the archbishop entering into the usual caution, to abide by the decision of the Pope in his cause, with the additional proviso that he should not return to England till peace was settled between the king and the barons.

He sat in the council, notwithstanding the suspension, but his learning and experience were lost to it, as he took no part in its deliberations, seeing that he had lost "the grace of his lord the Pope."[2] But as his conduct had been upright through circumstances of peculiar difficulty, his high character was not sullied; "the Lord who knew that his conscience was unwounded, preserving his fame unblemished."[3]

[1] Cont. Hov.

[2] Quoniam intellexit gratiam Dom. Papæ sibi subtractum, pauca verba de cætero in concilio fecit. Cont. Hov.

[3] Chron. Dunst.

The determination of Innocent to support the king was further shown in two elections which took place about this time. The see of York had lain vacant since the death of Geoffry, John's half-brother, during the Interdict. Notwithstanding the charter of free election, the king accompanied his licence to elect with a recommendation of Walter de Gray, Bishop of Worcester, his chancellor, and brother of the late Bishop of Norwich. Like all the clerics of the court, he was destitute of any ecclesiastical learning: whatever his ability in the Chancery, his clerkship was contemptible. On this ground he was rejected by the chapter, who elected Simon Langton, brother of Stephen. They might not know at the time that he had previously been prohibited by Innocent, in a personal interview at Rome, from ever aspiring to that see. They thought that his reputation for theological science would be his recommendation to the learned pontiff. Here was a singular parallel! The other archiepiscopal see was now disputed between two claimants, the brothers of those two between whom the dispute respecting Canterbury had lain. On each side the same claims—for Langton, his character and theological attainments, and the choice of the chapter; De Gray was the king's servant and friend. The decision, however, was different.

The king appealed to Rome on behalf of his minister. It was highly inexpedient for his realm that the brother of "his public enemy" should be made Archbishop of York. The Papal bull takes no notice of the king's reasoning, but annuls the election on the ground of the previous prohibition. The

chapter were summoned to Rome to make the election in the Pope's presence, where they chose the king's nominee, De Gray, justifying their submission by his chastity, which it should seem was his single virtue.[1]

Necessity may have obliged Innocent to support the king in everything at this critical moment. But it were to be wished that the victory that had just been won, had not been thus abandoned in practice, and that the race of courtly bishops should not have been thus perpetuated. Such prelates often compensate for their worldly character by the possession of worldly virtues. This was not the case with De Gray. As archbishop, he oppressed his tenants, and was unmerciful to the poor. During a great scarcity he hoarded his corn in his barns. He had a manor at Ripon, where he had laid up the produce of five years. It was feared that the grain might be injured by keeping; so he ordered it to be given out to his farmers for seed, who were to repay it in kind after the harvest. When the ricks came to be opened out for the purpose, they were found full of vermin of all sorts, and emitted so horrible a stench, that none could go near to uncover them, and they were obliged to be burnt as they stood. All who saw it judged it a miraculous punishment for his sin.

All the king's supporters, however, were not equally fortunate. The false teacher, Alexander, was accused of having propagated heretical and mischievous doctrines. The king wrote himself to

[1] Propter carnis munditiam ut qui ab utero matris virgo permanserat. Wend.

the Pope in his behalf. "Be it known to your Holiness that the lies which were put upon Master Alexander, of St. Albans, our clerk, were circulated only by the breath of envy; wherefore it may be aptly said, without the cloak of falsity, that, as much was inflicted upon Isaiah by the Jewish people, upon Moses for the Ethiopian women, and Paul for the seven churches, so was no less inflicted upon Master Alexander by the slanderous rabble. Wherefore we earnestly supplicate, etc." [1] Notwithstanding these most appropriate parallels from Scripture, sentence of condemnation was passed upon him; he was deprived of the benefices John had heaped upon him during the Interdict, and reduced at last to such distress, that he, who had feasted at the king's table, now begged his bread from door to door in St. Albans.

[1] Rot. Claus., Ap. 23, 1215.

CHAPTER VII

THE archbishop being thus removed from the scene of action, the civil war, which now raged at home, is no longer connected with his personal history: but, as it was the consequence of the previous events, our subject cannot be closed without some notice of it.

The success at Rochester, and the apathy of the barons, had changed the face of affairs. The king no longer confined himself to his castles in the south, but marched into the centre of the kingdom to St. Albans. The cloister of that abbey, the "secure retreat" of the religious and the student,[1] was now the council-hall where John and the foreign captains formed the plan of a complete and signal vengeance on the barons. This was nothing less than to put their lands—that is, the whole country northwards from that place, the royal manors excepted—under military execution. The force that lay at London was chiefly composed of the Northern barons and their retainers, so that the baronial party was denoted at the time by the name of "the Northerns."[2]

[1] Martyris Albani sit tibi prima claustrum quies.
Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novit
Annos felices, lætitiæque dies.

Alexander Neckham.

[2] Norenses, Dunst.; les Norois, Hist. Norm.

John divided his troops into two bodies. The Flemish mercenaries and his English adherents he took with him and marched northwards; the rest of the foreign troops he directed towards the eastern counties. And now began a scene the like of which had not been in England since William the First's devastation of Northumbria. The foreign soldiery were let loose on the country with more than licence,—with express orders to commit all the havoc and excess in their power. John's route from St. Albans to Durham was marked by a broad track of ruins. The villages, barns, houses, ricks, everything that would take fire, down to the hedges, were burnt. The parks and inclosures were thrown down, the deer and the herds slaughtered, the orchards cut down, the towns put to heavy contributions. "These limbs of Satan covered like locusts the whole face of the land, for to this end they had been gathered together from distant parts to destroy from off the face of the earth all living things, man and beast. Running hither and thither, with swords and knives bare, they entered houses, churchyards, churches, and robbed all, sparing neither sex nor age. Priests standing at the very altar, holding in their hands the sign of the Lord's cross, wearing the sacred vestments, were carried off, tortured, spoiled, wounded. Knights and others, of whatsoever condition, to draw money from them, they hung up by the loins, feet, legs, thumbs, or arms, and so squirted salt and vinegar into their eyes, not discerning that they had been made in the likeness of God, and distinguished by the name of Christ. Others

again on trivets and gridirons they set on red-hot coals, and then bathing their scorched limbs in cold water, made them thus give up the ghost."[1]

The festival of Christmas gave the bare respite of a single day; the next morning the king was up before light to commence his barbarous sport. The sufferings of the poor peasants, whose homes were burnt and corn destroyed, were aggravated by the season of the year. They crowded into churches and churchyards, an asylum generally, but not always, respected. On Christmas-day, at the hour of tierce, while the solemn mass was being celebrated in the abbey of Tyltey, in Essex, Savary de Mauleon's Poitevins burst into the church, broke open all the chests, and, overturning in their search the furniture of the altar, carried off a considerable sum which had been placed in deposit by the petty merchants or shopkeepers. Coggeshalle Abbey shared the same fate on the Circumcision; afterwards Crowland, and even St. Edmund's did not escape. Before the martyrdom of St. Thomas, St. Edmund the king had been the most highly venerated Saint in England, as he still continued to be in the eastern part of the kingdom. His festival was included among holidays of precept by Langton in the synod of Oxford (1222), but omitted afterwards by Islip, in 1362. Miraculous virtue was more active at his tomb than anywhere else. It was believed too, that like St. Martin in Gaul, in the sixth and seventh centuries, the Saint was not only beneficent to heal, but powerful to punish. When all the shrines in England were being

[1] Wend. iii. p. 351.

stripped to furnish King Richard's ransom, the king's justices demanded that this excrustation should be applied to St. Edmund's shrine among the rest. The Abbot Sampson resisted. "Know of a truth that this shall never be done with my consent. But I will throw open the doors of the church, and whoso will, may enter; let him who dares, lay hand on the shrine." Then each of the justices answered for himself with an oath, "I will not meddle with this; St. Edmund punishes even those who are far off; how much more him who shall seek to take away his coat?" Thus the shrine of St. Edmund remained untouched at that time, but[1] it was now rifled by these devastators. The isle of Ely, which had so long sheltered the last of the Saxon patriots, had been now again the refuge of all the neighbourhood round. It was, however, entered on two opposite sides, and all it contained fell a prey to the invaders, excepting the persons of some of the great men who escaped on horseback over the ice to London.

But the end was drawing near. We shall not relate in detail the events of the civil war that ensued. How the barons invited over the Dauphin, who, in right of his wife, Blanche of Castille, a grand-daughter of Henry II., set up the shadow of a claim to the throne of England, which he alleged had been forfeited by John, agreeably to the sentence which had been passed upon him in the court of his suzerain, the King of France, for the murder of his nephew Arthur. How the Pope continued to support what was truly and in fact, and

[1] Joc. de Brakelond, p. 71.

by a possession of sixteen years, the legitimate right of John; and how he first excommunicated the barons of England by name, and afterwards was proceeding to pass the same sentence on Philip, when his death averted the quarrel which must thus have been renewed between himself and the King of France. Innocent died on the 16th of July 1216; and the other party in the memorable struggle of which we have given an outline, soon followed. In October of the same year, John was suddenly summoned to give an account before the Great Judge of all of the government of his kingdom.

For ten months the country had been unceasingly devastated by this unrelenting scourge, and there seemed no prospect of a termination. For partial success inclined first to one and then to the other, but either party was as far as ever from complete superiority. Round and round the country, with his habitual rapidity, moved the king. Just as he had ever done in peace, he continued to do now in time of war; except that his sport was now to burn and destroy, instead of shooting the deer on his manors. From Winchester to Wales; from Wales back again to Lincoln. On the 12th of October he was marching northward from Wisbeach, and had to cross the estuary of the Welland from Cross Keys to Foss-Dyke. Himself and his army got over in safety, but the whole train that usually attended his movements, carts, carriages, and sumpter-horses, laden with the furniture and relics of the royal chapel, the treasure, including the crown and regalia, all the jewels and plate by

which he set so much store, together with those in charge of them, were swept away by the tide, and the quicksands of the Wash.

He reached the Abbey of Swinestead that night. In a sullen and impotent rage at his calamity, he ate, as usual, voraciously of the food that was brought him, which happened to be peaches and new beer. The irritation of his mind, aggravated by this excess, threw him into a fever attended by dysentery. Restless to the last he moved on, carried in a horse-litter when he could no longer sit on horseback, as far as the Castle of Newark. The Abbot of Croxton, at once his chaplain and his physician, heard his confession, and gave him the holy Eucharist. He lingered till the 18th. Midnight, the hour of his death, was marked by an alarming tempest. No sooner was the breath out of his body than it was deserted by his attendants, who carried off all they could lay their hands on, scarcely leaving it a decent covering. He was sincerely regretted, however, by his mercenaries, who, assembling from all parts, escorted his body to Worcester, where he was buried by his own desire between the shrines of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan, a monk's hood in place of a crown around his head as a preservative against evil spirits. He who had lived "a man of ill conditions"[1] desired a burial among the Saints.

We do not propose to draw John's character. The foregoing narrative may speak for itself. Not one of our kings has left a more distinct impression of his personal character. The government and

[1] Homo malarum conditionum. Johan. Ross.

political institutions of the Conqueror have perhaps left the deepest traces in our history, but the temper and manners of John; the former as the sovereign, the latter as the man — the Cyrus and Cambyses respectively of English story. No one has ever spoken well of him—no one favourable or redeeming trait has been handed down respecting him. From Matt. Paris's

"Sordida fœdatur, fœdante, Johanne, gehenna,"

downwards, all who have written of his reign have been unanimous in execrating this "Monstrum a vitiis nulla virtute redemptum." Nothing can be said in mitigation of this sentence. It can only be pleaded that, instead of being confined to this single prince, the same character would hold good of more than one of our early kings besides. But Rufus, Henry II., Richard I., were powerful and successful; John was unfortunate, and the odium of failure has drawn the world's reprobation on his vice. The single attempt at apology that has fallen within our notice, proceeds from the chronicler of that age of infatuated servility which exulted in the good and glorious reign of Elizabeth, and had received its religion from Henry VIII.

"Verelie, whosoever shall consider the course of the historie written of this prince, he shall find that he hath beene little beholden to the writers of that time in which he lived. . . . To say what I thinke, he was not so void of devotion towards the Church as divers of his enemies have reported, who of mere malice conceale all his vertues, and hide none of his vices but are plentifull enough in setting forth

the same to the uttermost, and interpret all his doings and sayings to the worst, as may appeare to those that advisedlie read the works of them that write the order of his life, which may seeme rather an invective than a true historie. Nevertheless, sith we cannot come by the truth of things through the malice of the writers, we must content ourselves with this unfriendlie description of his time. Certainlie, it should seem the man had a princelie heart in him, and wanted nothing but faithful subjects to have assisted him in revenging such wrongs as were done and offered by the French king and others.

"Moreover, the pride and pretended authoritie of the cleargie he could not well abide, when they went about to wrest out of his hands the prerogative of his princelie will and government. True it is that to maintaine his warres, which he was forced to take in hand, as well in France as elsewhere, he was constrained to make all the shift he could devise to recover monie; and because he pinched their purses, they conceived no small hatred against him, which when he perceived, and wanted peradventure discretion to pass it over, he discovered now and then in his rage his immoderate displeasure; as one not able to bridle his affections, a thing very hard in a stout stomach, and thereby missed now and then to compasse that which otherwise he might verie well have brought to passe."[1]

Our history naturally ends with the lives of the Pope and the King, whose conflict has been its subject. The archbishop survived them twelve years.

[1] Hollinshed.

Two actions, by which he illustrated this period of peace and repose, may be briefly mentioned.

1. The translation of St. Thomas à Becket. It was most fitting that this should be performed by a successor, who not only sat in his chair, but trod in his steps and had suffered in the cause for which the Saint was martyred. For fifty years, the channel through which God's mercy had been chiefly shown to the people of England had been the tomb of St. Thomas, of Canterbury. He had become what St. Edmund had been a century before, the centre of that veneration which was paid to the Saints. This was owing to the number of wonderful cures wrought at his tomb. In his life proscribed, despised, lightly treated even by his friends, dying a worse death than a traitor and a felon, he had been privately and hastily buried in an obscure vault in the crypt, to save his body from insult. Here he might soon have been forgotten, or, if remembered, it might have been as one among the vast ocean of historical characters, one who had done and suffered no more than many others had done and suffered. The sentence of Heaven only could make known that his life had been offered to God, and that the sacrifice was acceptable in His sight. And this sentence was given in that way that is least of all liable to mistake, by the visible and tangible evidence of miracles. It is to the humble monk and the helpless poor, the obscure and the oppressed, but, withal, faithful and obedient, God dispenses help and healing by the medium of the remains of the dead. It is not the canonisation and the translation that give notoriety to the merits of the dead;

they are but the seal and sanction of the Church to the sentence which the common voice of the faithful has already proclaimed. But miracles have a tendency to produce miracles. For as a miracle is a co-operation of God's power with man's faith, the more the prayers of the believing are attracted to any particular relic, the more is its hidden virtue developed; so continually fresh prodigies were performed at Canterbury. The public voice of the Church had obliged the Pope (Alexander III.) to canonise him, and now the same voice called on the archbishop to provide a more honourable place for his wonder-working bones than the damp and dark under-crypt. His own piety prompted him to the performance of this with all the magnificence in his power. Notice was publicly given of the intention two years beforehand. Honorius III., in an official bull, exhorted "the English of every condition, observing mutual concord in the bond of charity, to purify their consciences from all perversities, and study so to exercise themselves in good works, that when the day of the solemnity should arrive, they might be fit to show due honour to their holy martyr." The day fixed on was Tuesday the 7th of July — Tuesday being the day of the week on which he suffered. It was remarked at the time as a providential coincidence,[1] that it was the anniversary of the day on which the corpse of his murderer, Henry II., forsaken by his attendants, had been carried by strangers to Fontevraud. At the preceding Pentecost, Langton had presided at the coronation of an earthly king, Henry; he

[1] Deo procurante. Stephan. Lang. Serm.

now administered at the exaltation of one who, as a prince, had power with God. Never before in England had such a multitude been gathered into one spot; from every shire's end of England, from every corner of Christendom, of all sexes and of all ranks, abbots, priors, barons and clergy. There were twenty-four bishops present. The archbishop of Rheims said mass. And the holy remains were transferred from the unadorned stone coffin to a sumptuous chapel at the back of the high altar. Erasmus, who made a pilgrimage here, more from curiosity than devotion, during Warham's episcopate, describes minutely its then situation. It could only be shown by the prior in person. A case of wood, raised by a pulley, disclosed a chest or coffin of gold, which contained the holy treasure. All present immediately knelt down; but the bones themselves were not exhibited. "Inestimable riches adorned it; the meanest thing to be seen was gold. Rare gems and of the largest size glittered and gleamed around, some of them exceeding the size of a goose's egg. The prior, with a white wand, pointed out each jewel, adding its value and the name of the donor. The richest were the presents of princes."[1] For the entertainment of this vast crowd of pilgrims all the resources at the archbishop's command were put into action. His manors and houses in Canterbury and the neighbourhood were opened for their reception, wine flowed in every part of the city, free entertainment and forage were provided all the way from London. "And, though all he could do could not provide for anything like

[1] Peregrinatio Relig. ergo.

all who came, yet it showed," says the chronicler,[1] "his generous will." Langton's princely hospitality, indeed, was not only to his power, but beyond his power; for the revenues of the see did not recover this outlay under himself and three of his successors.

2. The other act of the archbishop which we shall mention is the synod at Osney, 1222, at which he presided, and at which were enacted a number of canons for the better government of the English Church, most probably drawn up by him. As Magna Charta forms the first of the Statutes of the realm, so those constitutions are the earliest provincial canons which are still recognised as binding in our ecclesiastical courts; and thus form the foundation of that vast fabric of ecclesiastical law which, when every other religious institution was being recklessly destroyed or remodelled, was left, from the sheer impossibility of dealing with it; reminding us of some of those old feudal towers, the solidity and tenacity of whose construction is such, that the destroyer has suffered them to remain, because the expense of pulling them down would be greater than the value of the materials.

[1] Waverl.

NOTE (*a*), p. 242.

THERE is a remarkable peculiarity about the authorities for the reign of John. The numerous and circumstantial chroniclers who furnish such abundant materials for preceding reigns: Hoveden, Diceto, Benedict, Gervase, Brompton, and Newburgh, all end with the twelfth century. On the other hand, the public records commence with this reign. From the Patent and Close Rolls, a table has been drawn which enables us to ascertain the place where John was on nearly every day throughout the eighteen years of his reign. A circumstance this, especially in the case of a prince who almost lived upon horseback, hardly ever sleeping at the same place two nights together, which brings home that distant period to us in as lively a way as if it were only a century old. Besides this Itinerary, these records furnish many curious particulars of which use has been made. The chief authority for the general history is the chronicle of St. Albans Abbey, written during this period by a contemporary, Roger of Wendover. When no other authority is given, this is to be understood. Matthew Paris, in the reign of Henry III., interpolated the genuine chronicle with statements of his own, less trustworthy than those of the original. There are other contemporary annalists, but brief and compendious in comparison of Wendover. Of these Ralph of Coggeshalle, and a chronicle apparently made up by Mr

Petrie, from Walter of Coventry, and two others,[1] are the most valuable. For the civil war and the invasion of Louis, a chronicle, in Norman French,[2] lately published by M. Michel, is more full than any other known source. No use has yet been made of it by any English historian of this reign. It was apparently written by one of John's Flemish mercenaries; and is a kind of journal, in a rude colloquial style, of events that befell the army. Many of the monastic annals contain additional particulars—*e.g.* those of Waverley, Burton, and Margam; but they bear traces of either being written much posterior to the events, or having imperfect information. In general, it may be laid down as a rule regarding these Latin chronicles, that those which are not contemporary to the events they relate are very unsatisfactory authority. A striking instance of this is furnished by the story that John died of poison, which is first hinted at by a writer of the year 1298, in the single expression, "veneno extinctus"; but before the end of the next century has expanded into a long and circumstantial narrative, and is delivered by Foxe as an undoubted truth, and illustrated by a cut. Lastly, may be mentioned the two collections of Innocent III.'s Letters, which contain the most part of the letters written by him to the king and the bishops on this affair.

[1] Cited as Continuator Hovedeni. [2] Chron. Norm.

NOTE (*b*) p. 243.

Bale, and a host of writers copying him, make Langton to have been Chancellor of the University of Paris. But at this period there was no such officer. There was the Chancellor of the Church of Paris, and the Chancellor of the Church of St. Genevieve, but no Chancellor of the University of Paris. The error probably originated in mistaking the expressions "scholis regebat," or "præsidebat," used by the older writers who mention Langton—*i.e.* Henry of Grand, and Trithemius—by which is only meant "taught in the schools." The accurate Leland is the only later writer who avoids this mistake.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I.

A PROVISIONAL CALENDAR OF ENGLISH SAINTS

Compiled by J. H. NEWMAN *in* 1843.

Note.—The names printed in italics are those of "eminent or holy persons, who, though not in the Sacred Catalogue, are recommended to our religious memory by their fame, learning, or the benefits they have conferred on posterity."

JANUARY

1 Elvan, B. and Medwyne, C.
2 Martyrs of Lichfield.
3 Melorus, M.
4
5 Edward, K.C.
6 Peter, A.
7 Cedd, B.
8 Pega, V. Wulsin, B.
9 Adrian, A. Bertwald, Archb.
10 Sethrida, V.
11 Egwin, B.
12 Benedict Biscop, A. Aelred, A.
13 Kentigern, B.
14 Beuno, A.
15 Ceolulph, K. Mo.
16 Henry, Hermit, Fursey, A.
17 Mildwida, V.
18 Ulfrid or Wolfrid, M.
19 Wulstan, B. Henry, B.
20
21
22 Brithwold, B.
23 Boisil, A.
24 Cadoc, A.
25
26 Theoritgida, V.
27 Bathildis, Queen.
28
29 Gildas, A.
30
31 Adamnan, Mo. Serapion, M.

FEBRUARY

1
2 Laurence, Archb.
3 Wereburga, V.
4 Gilbert, A. Liephard, B.M.
5
6 Ina, K. Mo.
7 Augulus, B.M. Richard, K.
8 Elfleda, A. Cuthman, C.
9 Theliau, B.
10 Trumwin, B.
11
12 Ethelwold, B. of Lindisfarne. Cedmon, Mo.
13 Ermenilda, Q.A.
14

15 Sigefride, B.
16 Finan, B.
17
18
19
20 Ulric, H.
21
22
23 Milburga, V.
24 Luidhard, B. Ethelbert of Kent, K.
25 Walburga, V.A.
26
27 Alnoth, H.M.
28 Oswald, B.
29

MARCH

1 David, Archb. Swibert, B.
2 Chad, B. Willeik, C. Joavan, B.
3 Winwaloe, A.
4 Owin, Mo.
5
6 Kineburga, etc., and Tibba, VV. Balther, C. and Bilfrid, H.
7 Easterwin, A. William, Friar.
8 Felix, B.
9 Bosa, B.
10
11
12 Elphege, B. Paul de Leon, B.C.
13
14 Robert, H.
15 Eadgith, A.
16
17 Withburga, V.
18 Edward, K.M.
19 Alcmund, M.
20 Cuthbert, B. Herbert, B.
21
22
23 Ædelwald, H.
24 Hildelitha, A.
25 Alfwold of Sherborne, B. and William, M.
26
27
28
29 Gundleus, H.
30 Merwenna, A.
31

APRIL

1
2
3 Richard, B.
4
5
6
7
8
9 Frithstan, B.
10
11 Guthlake, H.
12
13 Caradoc, H.
14 *Richard of Bury, B.*
15 Paternus, B.
16
17 Stephen, A.
18
19 Elphege, Archb.
20 Adelhare, M. Cedwalla, K.
21 Anselm, Archb. Doctor.
22
23 George, M.
24 Mellitus, Archb. Wilfrid, Archb. Egbert, C.
25
26
27
28
29 Wilfrid II. Archb.
30 Erconwald, B. Suibert, B. *Maud, Q.*

MAY

1 Asaph, B. Ultan, A. Brioc, B.C.
2 Germanus, M.
3
4

5 Ethelred, K. Mo.
6 Eadbert, A.
7 John, Archb. of Beverley.
8
9
10
11 Fremund, M.
12
13
14
15
16 Simon Stock, H.
17
18 Elgiva, Q.
19 Dunstan, Archb. *B. Alcuin, A.*
20 Ethelbert, K.M.
21 Godric, H.
22 Winewald, A. Berethun, A. *Henry, K.*
23
24 Ethelburga, Q.
25 Aldhelm, B.
26 Augustine, Archb.
27 Bede, D. Mo.
28 *Lanfranc, Archb.*
29
30 Walston, C.
31 Jurmin, C.

JUNE

1 Wistan, K.M.
2
3
4 Petroc, A.
5 Boniface, Archb. M.
6 Gudwall, B.
7 Robert, A.
8 William, Archb.
9
10 Ivo, B. and Ithamar, B.
11
12 Eskill, B.M.
13
14 Elerius, A.
15 Edburga, V.
16
17 Botulph, A. John, Fr.
18
19
20 Idaberga, V.
21 Egelmund, A.
22 Alban, and Amphibalus, MM.
23 Ethelreda, V.A.
24 Bartholomew, H.
25 Adelbert, C.
26
27 John, C. of Moutier.
28
29 *Margaret, Countess of Richmond.*
30

JULY

1 Julius, Aaron, MM. Rumold, B. Leonorus, B.
2 Oudoceus, B. Swithun, B.
3 Gunthiern, A.
4 Odo, Archb.
5 Modwenna, V.A.
6 Sexburga, A.
7 Edelburga, V.A. Hedda, B. Willibald, B. Ercongota, V.
8 Grimbald, and Edgar, K.
9 *Stephen Langton, Archb.*
10
11
12
13 Mildreda, V.A.
14 Marchelm, C. Boniface, Archb.
15 Deusdedit, Archb. Plechelm, B. David, A. and Editha of Tamworth, Q.V.
16 Helier, H.M.
17 Kenelm, K.M.
18 Edburga and Edgitha of Aylesbury, VV. Frederic, B.M.
19
20
21
22
23
24 Wulfud and Ruffin, MM. Lewinna, V.M.
25

26
27 Hugh, M.
28 Sampson, B.
29 Lupus, B.
30 Tatwin, Archb. and Ermenigitha, V.
31 Germanus, B. and Neot, H.

AUGUST

1 Ethelwold, B. of Winton.
2 Etheldritha, V.
3 Walthen, A.
4
5 Oswald, K.M. Thomas, Mo. M. of Dover.
6
7
8 Colman, B.
9
10
11 *William of Waynfleet, B.*
12
13 Wigbert, A. Walter, A.
14 Werenfrid, C.
15
16
17
18 Helen, Empress.
19
20 Oswin, K.M.
21 Richard, B. of Andria.
22 Sigfrid, A.
23 Ebba, V.A.
24
25 Ebba, V.A.M.
26 Bregwin, Archb. *Bradwardine, Archb.*
27 Sturmius, A.
28
29 Sebbus, K.
30
31 Eanswida, V.A. Aidan, A.B. Cuthburga, Q.V.

SEPTEMBER

1
2 William, B. of Roschid. William, Fr.
3
4
5
6 Bega, A.
7 Alcmund, A. Tilhbert, A.
8
9 Bertelin, H. Wulfhilda or Vulfridis, A.
10 Otger, C.
11 *Robert Kilwardby, Archb.*
12
13
14 *Richard Fox, B.*
15
16 Ninian, B. Edith, daughter of Edgar, V.
17 Socrates and Stephen, MM.
18
19 Theodore, Archb.
20
21 Hereswide, Q. *Edward II. K.*
22
23
24
25 Ceolfrid, A.
26
27 *William of Wykeham, B.*
28 Lioba, V.A.
29 *B. Richard of Hampole, H.*
30 Honorius, Archb.

OCTOBER

1 Roger, B.
2 Thomas of Hereford, B.
3 Ewalds (two) MM.
4
5 *Walter Stapleton, B.*
6 Ywy, C.
7 Ositha, Q.V.M.
8 Ceneu, V.
9 Lina, V. and *Robert Grostete, B.*
10 Paulinus, Archb. John, C. of Bridlington.
11 Edilburga, V.A.
12 Edwin, K.
13

14 Burchard, B.
15 Tecla, V.A.
16 Lullus, Archb.
17 Ethelred, Ethelbright, MM.
18 *Walter de Merton, B.*
19 Frideswide, V. and Ethbin, A.
20
21 Ursula, V.M.
22 Mello, B.C.
23
24 Magloire, B.
25 *John of Salisbury, B.*
26 Eata, B.
27 Witta, B.
28 *B. Alfred.*
29 Sigebert, K. Elfreda, A.
30
31 Foillan, B.M.

NOVEMBER

1
2
3 Winefred, V.M. Rumwald, C.
4 Brinstan, B. Clarus, M.
5 Cungar, H.
6 Iltut, A. and Winoc, A.
7 Willebrord, B.
8 Willehad, B. Tyssilio, B.
9
10 Justus, Archb.
11
12 Lebwin, C.
13 Eadburga of Menstrey, A.
14 Dubricius, B.C.
15 Malo, B.
16 Edmund, B.
17 Hilda, A. Hugh, B.
18
19 Ermenburga, Q.
20 Edmund, K.M. Humbert, B.M. Acca, B.
21
22 Paulinus, A.
23 Daniel, B.C.
24
25
26
27
28 Edwold, M.
29
30

DECEMBER

1
2 Weede, V.
3 Birinus, B. Lucius, K. and Sola, H.
4 Osmund, B.
5 Christina, V.
6
7
8 *John Peckham, Archb.*
9
10
11 Elfleda, A.
12 Corentin, B.C.
13 Ethelburga, Q. wife of Edwin.
14
15
16
17
18 Winebald, A.
19
20
21 Eadburga, V.A.
22
23
24
25
26 Tathai, C.
27 Gerald, A.B.
28
29 Thomas, Archb. M.
30
31

N.B.—*St. William, Austin-Friar, Ingulphus*, and *Peter of Blois* have not been introduced into the above Calendar, their days of death or festival not being as yet ascertained.

CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT

SECOND CENTURY

182 Dec. 3. Lucius, K. of the British.
Jan. 1. Elvan, B. and Medwyne, C. envoys from St. Lucius to Rome.

FOURTH CENTURY

300 Oct. 22. Mello, B.C. of Rouen.
303 Ap. 23. George, M. under Diocletian. Patron of England.
— June 22. Alban and Amphibalus, MM.
— July 1. Julius and Aaron, MM. of Caerleon.
304 Jan. 2. Martyrs of Lichfield.
— Feb. 7. Angulus, B.M. of London.
328 Aug. 18. Helen, Empress, mother of Constantine.
388 Sept. 17. Socrates and Stephen, MM. perhaps in Wales.
411 Jan. 3. Melorus, M. in Cornwall.

FIFTH CENTURY

432 Sept. 16. Ninian, B. Apostle of the Southern Picts.
429 July 31. Germanus, B.C. of Auxerre.
July 29. Lupus, B.C. of Troyes.
502 May 1. Brioc, B.C., disciple of St. Germanus.
490 Oct. 8. Ceneu, or Keyna, V., sister-in-law of Gundleus.
492 Mar. 29. Gundleus, Hermit, in Wales.
July 3. Gunthiern, A., in Brittany.
453 Oct. 21. Ursula, V.M. near Cologne.
bef. 500 Dec. 12. Corentin, B.C. of Quimper.

FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES

Welsh Schools

444-522 Nov. 14. Dubricius, B.C., first Bishop of Llandaff.
520 Nov. 22. Paulinus, A. of Whitland, tutor of St. David and St. Theliau.
445-544 Mar. 1. David, Archb. of Menevia, afterwards called from him.
abt. 500 Dec. 26. Tathai, C., master of St. Cadoc.
480 Jan. 24. Cadoc, A., son of St. Gundleus, and nephew of St. Keyna.
abt. 513 Nov. 6. Iltut, A., converted by St. Cadoc.
545 Nov. 23. Daniel, B.C., first Bishop of Bangor.
aft. 559 Apr. 18. Paternus, B.A., pupil of St. Iltut.
573 Mar. 12. Paul, B.C. of Leon, pupil of St. Iltut.
Mar. 2. Ioavan, B., pupil of St. Paul.

599 July 28. SAMPSON, B., pupil of St. Iltut, cousin of St. Paul de Leon.
565 Nov. 15. Malo, B., cousin of St. Sampson.
575 Oct. 24. Magloire, B., cousin of St. Malo.
583 Jan. 29. Gildas A., pupil of St. Iltut.
July 1. Leonorus, B., pupil of St. Iltut.
604 Feb. 9. Theliau, B. of Llandaff, pupil of St. Dubricius.
560 July 2. Oudoceus, B., nephew to St. Theliau.
500-580 Oct. 19. Ethbin, A., pupil of St. Sampson.
516-601 Jan. 13. Kentigern, B. of Glasgow, founder of Monastery of Elwy.

SIXTH CENTURY

529 Mar. 3. Winwaloe, A., in Brittany.
564 June 4. Petroc., A., in Cornwall.
July 16. Helier Hermit, M., in Jersey.
June 27. John, C. of Moutier, in Tours.
590 May 1. Asaph, B. of Elwy, afterwards called after him.
abt. 600 June 6. Gudwall, B. of Aleth in Brittany.
Nov. 8. Tyssilio, B. of St. Asaph.

SEVENTH CENTURY

PART I.

600 June 10. Ivo, or Ivia, B. from Persia.
596 Feb. 24. Luidhard, B. of Senlis, in France.
616 Feb. 24. Ethelbert, K. of Kent.
608 May 26. Augustine, Archb. of Canterbury, Apostle of England.
624 Apr. 24. Mellitus, Archb. of Canterbury,
619 Feb. 2. Laurence, Archb. of Canterbury,
608 Jan. 6. Peter, A. at Canterbury,
627 Nov. 10. Justus, Archb. of Canterbury,
653 Sept. 30. Honorius, Archb. of Canterbury,
} Companions of St. Augustine.
662 July 15. Deus-dedit, Archb. of Canterbury.

SEVENTH CENTURY

PART II.

642 Oct. 29. Sigebert, K. of the East Angles.
646 Mar. 8. Felix, B. of Dunwich, Apostle of the East Angles.
650 Jan. 16. Fursey, A., preacher among the East Angles.
680 May 1. Ultan, A., brother of St. Fursey.
655 Oct. 31. Foillan, B.M., brother of St. Fursey, preacher in the Netherlands.
680 June 17. Botulph, A., in Lincolnshire or Sussex.
671 June 10. Ithamar, B. of Rochester.
650 Dec. 3. Birinus, B. of Dorchester.
705 July 7. Hedda, B. of Dorchester.
717 Jan. 11. Egwin, B. of Worcester.

SEVENTH CENTURY

PART III.

690	Sept. 19.	Theodore, Archb. of Canterbury.
709	Jan. 9.	Adrian, A. in Canterbury.
709	May 25.	Aldhelm, B. of Sherborne, pupil of St. Adrian.

SEVENTH CENTURY

PART IV.

630	Nov. 3.	Winefred, V.M. in Wales.
642	Feb. 4.	Liephard, M.B., slain near Cambray.
660	Jan. 14.	Beuno, A., kinsman of St. Cadocus and St. Kentigern.
673	Oct. 7.	Osgitha, Q.V.M., in East Anglia during a Danish inroad.
630	June 14.	Elerius, A. in Wales.
680	Jan. 27.	Bathildis, Q., wife of Clovis II., king of France.
687	July 24.	Lewinna, V.M., put to death by the Saxons.
700	July 18.	Edberga and Edgitha, VV. of Aylesbury.

SEVENTH CENTURY

PART V.

644	Oct. 10.	Paulinus, Archb. of York, companion of St. Augustine.
633	Oct. 12.	Edwin, K. of Northumberland.
	Dec. 13.	Ethelburga, Q., wife to St. Edwin.
642	Aug. 5.	Oswald, K.M., St. Edwin's nephew.
651	Aug. 20.	Oswin, K.M., cousin to St. Oswald.
683	Aug. 23.	Ebba, V.A. of Coldingham, half-sister to St. Oswin.
689	Jan. 31.	Adamnan, Mo. of Coldingham.

SEVENTH CENTURY

PART VI.—WHITBY

650	Sept. 6.	Bega, V.A., foundress of St. Bee's, called after her.
681	Nov. 17.	Hilda, A. of Whitby, daughter of St. Edwin's nephew.
716	Dec. 11.	Elfleda, A. of Whitby, daughter of St. Oswin.
680	Feb. 12.	Cedmon, Mo. of Whitby.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

PART I.

	Sept. 21.	Hereswida, Q., sister of Hilda, wife of Annas, who succeeded Egric, Sigebert's cousin.
654	Jan. 10.	Sethrida, V.A. of Faremoutier, St. Hereswida's daughter by a former marriage.
693	Apr. 30.	Erconwald, A.B., son of Annas and St. Hereswida, Bishop of London, Abbot of Chertsey, founder of Barking.
677	Aug. 29.	Sebbus, K., converted by St. Erconwald.
	May 31.	Jurmin, C., son of Annas and St. Hereswida.

650 July 7. Edelburga, V.A. of Faremoutier, natural daughter of Annas.
679 June 23. Ethelreda, Etheldreda, Etheltrudis, or Awdry, V.A., daughter of Annas and St. Hereswida.
Mar. 17. Withburga, V., daughter of Annas and St. Hereswida.
699 July 6. Sexburga, A., daughter of Annas and St. Hereswida.
660 July 7. Ercongota, or Ertongata, V.A. of Faremoutier, daughter of St. Sexburga.
699 Feb. 13. Ermenilda, Q.A., daughter of St. Sexburga, wife of Wulfere.
aft. 675 Feb. 3. Wereburga, V., daughter of St. Ermenilda and Wulfere, patron of Chester.
abt. 680 Feb. 27. Alnoth, H.M., bailiff to St. Wereburga.
640 Aug. 31. Eanswida, V.A., sister-in-law of St. Sexburga, granddaughter to St. Ethelbert.
668 Oct. 17. Ethelred and Ethelbright, MM., nephews of St. Eanswida.
July 30. Ermenigitha, V., niece of St. Eanswida.
676 Oct. 11. Edilberga, V.A. of Barking, daughter of Annas and St. Hereswida.
678 Jan. 26. Theoritgida, V., nun of Barking.
aft. 713 Aug. 31. Cuthberga, Q.V., of Barking, sister of St. Ina.
700 Mar. 24. Hildelitha, A. of Barking.
728 Feb. 6. Ina, K. Mo. of the West Saxons.
740 May 24. Ethelburga, Q., wife of St. Ina, nun at Barking.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

Part II.

652 June 20. Idaburga, V.
696 Mar. 6. Kineburga, Q.A.
701 ——— Kinneswitha, V.
——— Chidestre, V.
692 Dec. 2. Weeda, V.A.
} Daughters of King Penda.
696 Mar. 6. Tibba, V., their kinswoman.
Nov. 3. Rumwald, C., grandson of Penda.
680 Nov. 19. Ermenburga, Q., mother to the three following.
Feb. 23. Milburga, V.A. of Wenlock,
July 13. Mildreda, V.A. of Menstrey,
676 Jan. 17. Milwida, or Milgitha, V.
} Grand-daughters of Penda.
750 Nov. 13. Eadburga, A. of Menstrey.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

Part III.

670 July 24. Wulfad and Ruffin, MM., sons of Wulfere, Penda's son, and of St. Erminilda.
672 Mar. 2. Chad, B. of Lichfield.
664 Jan. 7. Cedd, B. of London.
688 Mar. 4. Owin, Mo. of Lichfield.

689 Apr. 20. Cedwalla, K. of West Saxons.
690-725 Nov. 5. Cungar, H. in Somersetshire.
700 Feb. 10. Trumwin, B. of the Picts.
705 Mar. 9. Bosa, Archb. of York.
709 Apr. 24. Wilfrid, Archb. of York.
721 May 7. John of Beverley, Archb. of York.
743 Apr. 29. Wilfrid II., Archb. of York.
733 May 22. Berethun, A. of Deirwood, disciple of St. John of Beverley.
751 May 22. Winewald, A. of Deirwood.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

PART IV.—MISSIONS

729 Apr. 24. Egbert, C., master to Willebrord.
693 Oct. 3. Ewalds (two), MM. in Westphalia.
690-736 Nov. 7. Willibrord, B. of Utrecht, Apostle of Friesland.
717 Mar. 1. Swibert, B., Apostle of Westphalia.
727 Mar. 2. Willeik, C., successor to St. Swibert.
705 June 25. Adelbert, C., grandson of St. Oswald, preacher in Holland.
705 Aug. 14. Werenfrid, C., preacher in Friesland.
720 June 21. Engelmund, A., preacher in Holland.
730 Sept. 10. Otger, C. in Low Countries.
732 July 15. Plechelm, B., preacher in Guelderland.
750 May 2. Germanus, B.M. in the Netherlands.
760 Nov. 12. Lebwin, C., in Overyssel, in Holland.
760 July 14. Marchelm, C. companion of St Lebwin, in Holland.
697-755 June 5. Boniface, Archb. M. of Mentz, Apostle of Germany.
712 Feb. 7. Richard, K. of the West Saxons.
704-790 July 7. Willibald, B. of Aichstadt, in Franconia, } Children of St. Richard.
730-760 Dec. 18. Winebald, A. of Heidenheim, in Suabia, } Children of St. Richard.
779 Feb. 25. Walburga, V.A. of Heidenheim, } Children of St. Richard.
aft. 755 Sept. 28. Lioba, V.A. of Bischorsheim, } Companions of St. Boniface
750 Oct. 15. Tecla, V.A. of Kitzingen, in Franconia, } Companions of St. Boniface
788 Oct. 16. Lullus, Archb. of Mentz, } Companions of St. Boniface
abt. 747 Aug. 13. Wigbert, A. of Fritzlar and Ortdorf, in Germany, } Companions of St. Boniface
755 Apr. 20. Adelhare, B.M. of Erford, in Franconia, } Companions of St. Boniface
780 Aug. 27. Sturmius, A. of Fulda, } Companions of St. Boniface
786 Oct. 27. Witta, or Albuinus, B. of Buraberg, in Germany, } Companions of St. Boniface
791 Nov. 8. Willehad, B. of Bremen, and Apostle of Saxony } Companions of St. Boniface
791 Oct. 14. Burchard, B. of Wurtzburg, in Franconia, } Companions of St. Boniface
790 Dec. 3. Sola, H., near Aichstadt, in Franconia, } Companions of St. Boniface

775 July 1. Rumold, B., Patron of Mechlin.
807 Apr. 30. Suibert, B. of Verden in Westphalia.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

Part V.—Lindisfarne and Hexham

670 Jan. 23. Boisil, A. of Melros, in Scotland.
651 Aug. 31. Aidan, A.B. of Lindisfarne.
664 Feb. 16. Finan, B. of Lindisfarne.
676 Aug. 8. Colman, B. of Lindisfarne.
685 Oct. 26. Eata, B. of Hexham.
687 Mar. 20. Cuthbert, B. of Lindisfarne.
Oct. 6. Ywy, C. disciple of St. Cuthbert.
690 Mar. 20. Herbert, H. disciple of St. Cuthbert.
698 May 6. Eadbert, B. of Lindisfarne.
700 Mar. 23. Ædelwald, H. successor of St. Cuthbert, in his hermitage.
740 Feb. 12. Ethelwold, B. of Lindisfarne.
740 Nov. 20. Acca, B. of Hexham.
764 Jan. 15. Ceolulph, K. Mo. of Lindisfarne.
756 Mar. 6. Balther, H. at Lindisfarne.
,, Bilfrid, H. Goldsmith at Lindisfarne.
781 Sept. 7. Alchmund, B. of Hexham.
789 Sept. 7. Tilhbert, B. of Hexham.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

Part VI.—Wearmouth and Yarrow

703 Jan. 12. Benedict Biscop, A. of Wearmouth.
685 Mar. 7. Easterwin, A. of Wearmouth.
689 Aug. 22. Sigfrid, A. of Wearmouth.
716 Sept. 25. Ceofrid, A. of Yarrow.
734 May 27. Bede, Doctor, Mo. of Yarrow.
804 May 19. *B. Alcuin, A. in France.*

EIGHTH CENTURY

710 May 5. Ethelred, K. Mo. King of Mercia, Monk of Bardney.
719 Jan. 8. Pega, V., sister of St. Guthlake.
714 April 11. Guthlake, H. of Croyland.
717 Nov. 6. Winoc, A. in Brittany.
730 Jan. 9. Bertwald, Archb. of Canterbury.
732 Dec. 27. Gerald, A.B. in Mayo.
734 July 30. Tatwin, Archb. of Canterbury.
750 Oct. 19. Frideswide, V. patron of Oxford.
762 Aug. 26. Bregwin, Archb. of Canterbury.
700-800 Feb. 8. Cuthman, C. of Stening in Sussex.
bef. 800 Sept. 9. Bertelin, H. patron of Stafford.

EIGHTH AND NINTH CENTURIES

793	May 20.	Ethelbert, K.M. of the East Angles.
834	Aug. 2.	Etheldritha, or Alfreda, V., daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, nun at Croyland.
819	July 17.	Kenelm, K.M. of Mercia.
849	June 1.	Wistan, K.M. of Mercia.
838	July 18.	Frederic, Archb. M. of Utrecht.
894	Nov. 4.	Clarus, M. in Normandy.

NINTH CENTURY

PART I.—DANISH SLAUGHTERS, etc.

819	Mar. 19.	Alcmund, M., son of Eldred, king of Northumbria, Patron of Derby.
870	Nov. 20.	Edmund, K.M. of the East Angles.
862	May 11.	Fremund, H.M. nobleman of East Anglia.
870	Nov. 20.	Humbert, B.M. of Elmon in East Anglia.
867	Aug. 25.	Ebba, V.A.M. of Coldingham.

NINTH CENTURY.

PART II.

862	July 2.	Swithun, B. of Winton.
870	July 5.	Modwenna, V.A. of Pollesworth in Warwickshire.
	Oct. 9.	Lina, V. nun at Pollesworth.
871	Mar. 15.	Eadgith, V.A. of Pollesworth, sister of King Ethelwolf.
900	Dec. 21.	Eadburga, V.A. of Winton, daughter of King Ethelwolf.
880	Nov. 28.	Edwold, H., brother of St. Edmund.

NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES

883	July 31.	Neot H. in Cornwall.
903	July 8.	Grimbald, A. at Winton.
900	Oct. 28.	*B. Alfred, K.*
929	April 9.	Frithstan, B. of Winton.
934	Nov. 4.	Brinstan, B. of Winton.

TENTH CENTURY

PART I.

960	June 15.	Edburga, V., nun at Winton, grand-daughter of Alfred.
926	July 15.	Editha, Q.V., nun of Tamworth, sister to Edburga.
921	May 18.	Algyfa, or Elgiva, Q., mother of Edgar.
975	July 8.	Edgar, K.

978 Mar. 18. Edward, K.M. at Corfe Castle.
984 Sept. 16. Edith, V., daughter of St. Edgar and St. Wulfhilda.
990 Sept. 9. Wulfhilda, or Vulfrida, A. of Wilton.
980 Mar. 30. Merwenna, V.A. of Romsey.
990 Oct. 29. Elfreda, A. of Romsey.
1016 Dec. 5. Christina of Romsey, V., sister of St. Margaret of Scotland.

TENTH CENTURY

Part II.

961 July 4. Odo, Archb. of Canterbury, Benedictine Monk.
960-992 Feb. 28. Oswald, Archb. of York, B. of Worcester, nephew to St. Odo.
951-1012 Mar. 12. Elphege the Bald, B. of Winton.
988 May 19. Dunstan, Archb. of Canterbury.
973 Jan. 8. Wulsin, B. of Sherbourne.
984 Aug. 1. Ethelwold, B. of Winton.
1015 Jan. 22. Brithwold, B. of Winton.

TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

Missions

950 Feb. 15. Sigfride, B., apostle of Sweden.
1016 June 12. Eskill, B.M. in Sweden, kinsman of St. Sigfride.
1028 Jan. 18. Wolfred, M. in Sweden.
1050 July 15. David, A., Cluniac in Sweden.

ELEVENTH CENTURY

1012 April 19. Elphege, M. Archb. of Canterbury.
1016 May 30. Walston, C. near Norwich.
1053 Mar. 35. Alfwold, B. of Sherborne.
1067 Sept. 2. William, B. of Roschid in Denmark.
1066 Jan. 5. Edward, K.C.
1099 Dec. 4. Osmund, B. of Salisbury.

ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

1095 Jan. 19. Wulstan, B. of Worcester.
1089 May 28. *Lanfranc, Archb. of Canterbury.*
1109 Apr. 21. Anselm, Doctor, Archb. of Canterbury.
1170 Dec. 29. Thomas, Archb. M. of Canterbury.
1200 Nov. 17. Hugh, B. of Lincoln, Carthusian Monk.

TWELFTH CENTURY

Part I.

1109		*Ingulphus A. of Croyland.*
1117	Apr. 30.	*B. Maud, Q.* Wife of Henry I.
1124	Apr. 13.	Caradoc, H. in South Wales.
1127	Jan. 16.	Henry, H. in Northumberland.
1144	Mar. 25.	William, M. of Norwich.
1151	Jan. 19.	Henry, M.B. of Upsal.
1150	Aug. 13.	Walter, A. of Fontenelle, in France.
1154	June 8.	William, Archb. of York.
1170	May 21.	Godric, H. in Durham.
1180	Oct. 25.	*John of Salisbury, B. of Chartres.*
1182	June 24.	Bartholomew, C., monk at Durham.
1189	Feb. 4.	Gilbert, A. of Sempringham.
1190	Aug. 21.	Richard, B. of Andria.
1200		*Peter de Blois, Archd. of Bath.*

TWELFTH CENTURY

Part II.—Cistercian Order

1134	Apr. 17.	Stephen, A. of Citeaux.
1139	June 7.	Robert, A. of Newminster in Northumberland.
1154	Feb. 20.	Ulric, H. in Dorsetshire.
1160	Aug. 3.	Walthen, A. of Melrose.
1166	Jan. 12.	Aelred, A. of Rieval.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Part I.

1228	July 9.	*Stephen Langton, Archb. of Canterbury.*
1242	Nov. 16.	Edmund, Archb. of Canterbury.
1253	Apr. 3.	Richard, B. of Chichester.
1282	Oct. 2.	Thomas, B. of Hereford.
1294	Dec. 3.	*John Peckham, Archb. of Canterbury.*

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Part II.—Orders of Friars

1217	June 17.	John, Fr., Trinitarian.
1232	Mar. 7.	William, Fr., Franciscan.
1240	Jan. 31.	Serapion, Fr., M., Redemptionist.
1265	May 16.	Simon Stock, H., General of the Carmelites.
1279	Sept. 11.	*Robert Kilwardby, Archb. of Canterbury, Fr. Dominican.*

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Part III.

1239	Mar. 14.	Robert H. at Knaresboro'.
1241	Oct. 1.	Roger, B. of London.
1255	July 27.	Hugh, M. of Lincoln.
1295	Aug. 5.	Thomas, Mo., M. of Dover.
1254	Oct. 9.	*Robert Grosseteste, B. of Lincoln.*
1270	July 14.	Boniface, Archb. of Canterbury.
1278	Oct. 18.	*Walter de Merton, B. of Rochester.*

FOURTEENTH CENTURY

1326	Oct. 5.	*Stapleton, B. of Exeter.*
1327	Sept. 21.	*Edward, K.*
1349	Sept. 29.	*B. Richard, H. of Hampole.*
1345	Apr. 14.	*Richard of Bury, B. of Lincoln.*
1349	Aug. 26.	*Bradwardine, Archb. of Canterbury, the Doctor Profundus.*
1358	Sept. 2.	William, Fr., Servite.
1379	Oct. 10.	John, C. of Bridlington.
1324-1404	Sept. 27.	*William of Wykeham, B. of Winton.*
1400		William, Fr. Austin.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY

1471	May 22.	*Henry, K. of England.*
1486	Aug. 11.	*William of Wanefleet, B. of Winton.*
1509	June 29.	*Margaret, Countess of Richmond.*
1528	Sept. 14.	*Richard Fox, B. of Winton.*

APPENDIX II.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE "LIVES OF THE ENGLISH SAINTS"

It was mentioned above in the Introduction (Vol. I. p. xi.) that in regard to the authorship of a few of the Lives contained in this series there will always remain some obscurity, since the editor, Cardinal Newman, suppressed the list of contributors that was in his possession, and for some reason was always extremely reticent on the subject. But, for the most part, the writers were tolerably well known by common report at the original date of publication, and their names were frequently entered in manuscript on the various title-pages. To two bound sets of the original issue thus inscribed the editor of the present reprint has had access; and, in cases when the inscription was not the same, or where only one of the sets assigned any author, he has obtained information from correspondents to whom the writers were personally known; while in a few cases, when there was a divergence of opinion, the evidence of style has sufficed to decide the question. Thus guided he has been enabled, with a fair amount of certainty, to assign the thirty-three Lives to some fourteen authors, of whom brief biographical notices are given below. With one exception, all those who wrote in the series, or to whom any share in it has been credibly attributed, are dead; and the one who survives, the Rev. Thomas Meyrick, is now resident abroad in a very pre-

carious state of health, such as precludes the possibility of his being consulted on the subject.

It is a striking testimony to Newman's insight into character that, of the fourteen writers selected by him, eight have found a place in the "Dictionary of National Biography," while, of the remaining six, two (Dean Church and J. A. Froude) are not there simply on account of the circumstance that they were still living at the date when the volume appeared which would otherwise have included the name; and of the four others (John Barrow, Thomas Meyrick, Robert Ornsby, and John Walker), the second (as just noted) is still living.

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St. Bega [F. W. Faber] . . . . . IV. 303
St. Bettelin [J. H. Newman] . . . . . III. 64
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St. Herbert [J. Barrow] . . . . . III. 44
St. Neot [J. A. Froude] . . . . . III. 80
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St. Richard, King [T. Meyrick] . . . . . II. 7
St. Robert [J. B. Dalgairns] . . . . . V. 429
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Stephen Langton [M. Pattison] . . . . . VI. 241
St. Walburga [T. Meyrick] . . . . . II. 87
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St. Bartholomew, hermit, has by some been ascribed to Dalgairns.

The verse portion in the Life of St. Bettelin is by Dalgairns; and probably from the same hand came the prose paragraphs on pp. 74, 78, and 79 of vol. iii., except the concluding paragraph, which is certainly Newman's. But on this, see below, p. 410.

In the "Dictionary of National Biography," St. Edelwald is ascribed to Newman; but the internal evidence only permits one to accept this so far as concerns the metrical translation on pp. 56, 57. Who wrote the rest must remain uncertain.

In the "Dictionary of National Biography," St. Edmund is ascribed to Pattison exclusively; but it is stated with some authority that it was his joint work with Dalgairns.

St. Herbert and St. Richard, bishop, have also by some been ascribed to Dalgairns; but the evidence that assigns them to J. Barrow and R. Ornsby respectively is sufficiently strong.

As to the amount of the contributions of the various authors, the following figures represent the number of pages in round numbers:—Dalgairns, 600; Faber, 440; Pattison, 400; Walker, 340; Oakeley, 300; Meyrick and Ornsby,

each 130; Coffin, 80; Froude, 65; Church, 50; Newman and Mozley, each 30; Barrow, 12.

The insertion of the portraits was an afterthought of the publishers. Of J. Barrow and of R. Ornsby no likeness was forthcoming; while that procured of J. Walker proved to be of doubtful authenticity, and so has not been inserted.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE AUTHORS

BARROW

John Barrow, author of the 'Life of St Herbert' (which by some has been attributed to Dalgairns), was born at Kendal, 1st March 1810, and matriculated from Queen's College, 14th October 1826. He graduated B.A. in 1830, obtaining a Second Class in *Lit. Hum.* He was Tutor and Librarian of Queen's College, 1835-46, and Select Preacher before the University in 1853. In 1854 he became Principal of St. Edmund Hall, but resigned the post in 1861, and soon after was received into the Church of Rome. In 1867 he became a Jesuit and changed his name to "William Bernard." He spent some time in India, and died at Bordeaux, 1st January 1880. Before his secession he was considered one of the less extreme Puseyites, his friends being J. W. Burgon, R. Owen, and others of that school.

CHURCH

Richard William Church, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, was born at Lisbon, 25th April 1815, and his youth was chiefly spent in Italy. He wrote for this series the 'Life of St. Wulstan,' and also a 'Life of St. Anselm' (see above, Vol. I. p. ix.); but this was published independently at a later date. He matriculated from Wadham College in 1833, and graduated B.A. in 1836, obtaining a First Class in *Lit. Hum.* In 1838 he was elected Fellow of Oriel. He was never an actual disciple or close associate

of Newman's, but he contributed (as above) to the series of 'Saints' Lives,' and in 1841, as Proctor, he vetoed the condemnation of Tract XC. by Convocation. Ordained deacon in 1838, he received priest's orders in 1852, and was presented the year following to Whatley Rectory, Somersetshire, where he remained until 1871, only emerging from this obscurity for occasional sermons, either as Select Preacher before the University, or on one occasion before Queen Victoria. In 1871 he became Dean of St. Paul's, at the urgent insistence of Mr. Gladstone. He died at Dover, 8th December 1890. His "History of the Oxford Movement" was not published until after his death.

COFFIN

Robert Aston Coffin, afterwards Roman Catholic Bishop of Southwark, wrote the 'Life of St. William' in this series. He was born at Brighton, 19th July 1819, and was educated at Harrow and at Christ Church, whence he graduated B.A. in 1840 (Third Class in *Lit. Hum.*). He was Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene's, Oxford, from 1843; but resigned this post and was received into the Roman Catholic Church, 3rd December 1845. He was with Newman in Rome, became an Oratorian, and was ordained priest with him in 1847. In 1848-9 he was Superior at St. Wilfrid's, Cotton Hall, Staffordshire. In 1852 he joined the Redemptorists in Belgium, and was Rector at St. Mary's, Clapham, from 1855, and Provincial of the order from 1865 until 1882, when he was appointed Bishop of Southwark by Pope Leo XIII. He was consecrated in Rome by Cardinal Howard. He died at the Redemptorist house in Teignmouth, 6th April 1885. He published translations of many of the works of St. Alfonso de' Liguori, and also of Blosius' "Oratory of the Faithful Soul."

DALGAIRNS

JOHN DOBREE (in religion, *Bernard*) DALGAIRNS was born in Guernsey, 21st October 1818. His father, an officer in the Fusiliers, did distinguished service in the Peninsular War, and his mother (Dobree) came of one of the ancient Norman families of the island. He matriculated from Exeter College, and graduated B.A. (Second Class in *Lit. Hum.*) in 1839. He assisted Newman in the translation of the "Catena Aurea," and he was the principal contributor to this series of 'Saints' Lives,' undertaking the Cistercian Saints, 'St. Stephen Harding,' 'St. Aelred,' 'St. Robert of Newminster,' and 'St. Waltheof.' The first-named, which was the first of the series published, has received almost universal praise, and has been translated into French and German. Dalgairns' authorship of the 'Life of St. Helier' is attested by the evident local knowledge of the writer. 'St. Edmund of Canterbury' he appears to have written in conjunction with Mark Pattison; and 'St. Gilbert' was re-written by him, the first draft being by Lockhart. He was received into the Roman Catholic Church on Michaelmas Day, 1845, by Father Dominic, the Passionist, whom he thereupon invited to Littlemore, where his presence gave Newman the opportunity to be received ten days later. Dalgairns proceeded to France, and lived with the Abbé Jovain at Langres, where he was ordained priest in 1846. The year following he became an Oratorian novice in Rome, with Newman, under Father Rossi, at Santa Croce; and later he was at Maryvale, Old Oscott, and at St. Wilfrid's, Cotton. In 1849 he became a member of the London Oratory, in King William Street, Strand; but he was again with Newman at the Birmingham Oratory, 1853-56. He was Superior of the London Oratory for two years after the death of Faber in 1863. During the later part of his life he was much tried by sickness

and sorrow. He died at Burgess Hall, near Brighton, 11th February 1876. For some years he had been a member of Mr. James Knowles' "Metaphysical Society." A list of his writings, all of them valuable contributions to literature, history, or philosophy, is given in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

FABER

Frederick William Faber, as an Oratorian known as "Father Wilfrid," was born at Calverley Vicarage, Yorkshire, 28th June 1814. He was educated chiefly at Harrow, and matriculated from Balliol College in 1833, but was elected a scholar of University in 1834. As an undergraduate he was distinguished as a poet (obtaining the Newdigate prize), and as a debater at the Union. He graduated B.A. (Second Class in *Lit. Hum.*) in 1836, obtaining the Johnson Theological Scholarship, and being elected a Fellow of University in 1837. After serving as curate at Ambleside, he travelled abroad, and became rector of Elton, Hunts, in 1843. He translated St. Optatus, "On the Donatist Schism," for the "Library of the Fathers," and for this series of 'Saints' Lives' he wrote 'St. Wilfrid' and the 'Northumbrian Saints.' He was received into the Roman Catholic Church at Northampton, by Bishop Wareing, 16th November 1845, with several of his parishioners and friends, who became, under him, "Brothers of the Will of God," or "Wilfridians," a community established in 1846 at Cotton Hall (St. Wilfrid's), Staffordshire. He was ordained priest in 1847, and the year following the Wilfridians were amalgamated with the Oratorians. In 1849 he proceeded to London with a considerable proportion of the community, whose Superior he was until his death, 26th September 1863. He was a voluminous author, both in poetry and prose, and many

of his hymns are popular among Christians of every denomination. His "Life and Letters," by J. E. Bowden, was published in 1869.

FROUDE

James Anthony Froude, author of the 'Life of St. Neot' in this series, was born at Dartington, Devon, 23rd April 1818, son of the Ven. R. H. Froude, Archdeacon of Totnes. He was educated at Westminster School, and proceeded to Oriel College, Oxford, whence he graduated B.A. (Second Class in *Lit. Hum.*) in 1840. In 1842 he obtained the Chancellor's prize for an English essay on "The Influence of the Science of Political Economy on the Moral and Social Welfare of the Nation," and he was elected a Fellow of Exeter College, a position which he resigned in 1849. In 1844 he was ordained deacon, and at this date he was associated with Newman at Littlemore. Three years later, under the pseudonym of "Zeta," he published "Shadows of the Clouds," a forecast of his growing scepticism as to revealed religion, which he made public in 1848 (when he published "The Nemesis of Faith"), by resigning his fellowship and by practically withdrawing from the Church of England. In 1856 appeared the first two volumes of his History of England, and in 1870 the two concluding volumes. His first wife was Charlotte Pascoe, whose sisters married Lord Wolverton, Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne, and Charles Kingsley. She died in 1860; and his second wife (a daughter of Mr J. Warre, M.P. for Taunton), in 1886. For a time, after completing his History, he was editor of *Fraser's Magazine*; and in 1874 he was sent to the Cape of Good Hope to inquire into the causes of the Kaffir insurrection. On the death of Professor Freeman,

in 1892, he was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. He died at Woodcot, Salcombe, 20th October 1894.

LOCKHART

William Lockhart, the first of Newman's disciples to join the Church of Rome, wrote for this series a 'Life of St. Gilbert'; but the Life that was actually printed in the series, and is reprinted in this edition, was the work of Dalgairns, who made use of Lockhart's manuscript, but wrote independently of it (see the "Advertisement" prefixed to the Life at the commencement of Vol. IV.). Born in 1820, the son of the Rev. Alexander Lockhart, vicar of Stone, Bucks, he graduated B.A. from Exeter College in 1842. Associated with Newman at Littlemore, he translated for him a portion of Fleury's Ecclesiastical History; but, quickly making up his mind as to the position of the Church of England, he was received into the Roman Catholic Church in August 1843; an event that was the occasion of Newman's sermon on "The Parting of Friends." Proceeding to Rome, he became, in 1845, a member of the Order of Charity (commonly called "Rosminians"), of which order he was in later years the Procurator-General. He was the most prominent English disciple of Rosmini, the Catholic philosopher, whose speculations were regarded in Rome with some disfavour, and from whose works certain propositions were ultimately drawn and condemned; though the loyalty of their author was so little in doubt that, during his lifetime, the question was whether he should be silenced by censure or by being made a Cardinal. Lockhart translated some of his works, and wrote a portion of his Life. At one time he edited a popular periodical called *The Lamp*; and he was an ardent supporter of Manning

in the Temperance movement. The character he somehow acquired, of being diffident and of lacking initiative, is hardly in accordance with his prompt action in 1843, or with his buying out of Chancery St. Etheldreda's, Ely Place, Holborn, and restoring it to Roman Catholic worship. In 1891 he published some reminiscences of Newman. He died 15th May 1892.

MEYRICK

Thomas Meyrick, at one time a Jesuit, and author of the series entitled "The Family of St. Richard," published second in order of time, with a prefatory note by "J. H. N.," and opening the second volume in this reprint, is, at this date (May 1901), the sole survivor of the original band of fourteen contributors. I am indebted to his cousin, the Rev. Canon Meyrick, of Blickling, Norfolk, for the following information about him :—

"Mr. Thomas Meyrick was born in 1817, at Ramsbury, in Wiltshire, being the son of the Rev. Arthur Meyrick. He was educated by his father, and was elected a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He graduated B.A. in 1838 (First Class in *Lit. Hum.*), and became a private tutor for the Schools. Early in 1845 he fell into great distress of mind, and during it joined the Church of Rome, having been first released from a promise that he had made to John Henry Newman not to take that step. He twice joined the Jesuits and twice abandoned them; on the second occasion writing and printing a pamphlet condemning their treatment of him. He spent the later years of his life, partly at his brother's house in Wiltshire, partly living in lodgings at Bournemouth; and during this time he declined to have any connection with Roman Catholics. Three or four years ago he again began to officiate as a Roman priest; but, being dissatisfied with

his treatment, he went to Rome. There his health broke down, and he was kindly tended by some charitable Italian nuns; and, so far as I know, he is still under their charge."

MOZLEY

THOMAS MOZLEY, Newman's brother-in-law, and probably the author of the 'Life of St. Bartholomew, hermit,' in this series, was born at Gainsborough in 1806, the third son of Henry Mozley, a bookseller and publisher, who transferred his business to Derby in 1815, and who printed the 'Lives of the Hermit Saints,' and several others in the series. He was educated at the Charterhouse, and proceeded to Oriel, whence he graduated (Third Class Honours in *Lit. Hum.*) in 1828, and was elected a Fellow in 1829. After holding various curacies he married Harriet Elizabeth Newman in 1836, and became rector of Childerton, Wilts. He succeeded Newman as editor of the *British Critic*. According to his autobiographical preface to "The Creed or a Philosophy" (1893), he nearly "went over to Rome" in 1843. A year later he was on the staff of the *Times*, for which he wrote constantly up to the date of the Vatican Council. In 1868 he accepted the college living of Plymtree, Devon; and, resigning this in 1880, he lived at Cheltenham until his death, 17th June 1893. He has been described as "a man of vast information," and as "an acute thinker in a desultory sort of way"; but Newman thought him "not quick or brilliant." In his later years his hold on orthodoxy was very precarious. According to Pattison, his well-known "Reminiscences" are second only to the "Apologia" as an authority for the Tractarian movement.

NEWMAN

JOHN HENRY, Cardinal NEWMAN, the projector and, in the case of the first two numbers, the editor of this series, was the author of the 'Life of St. Gundleus' (the Latin form of Gwynllyn), hermit, and of the prose portion of 'St. Bettelin' (or Bertelin), hermit, and possibly also of part of the 'Life of St. Edelwald.' With regard to the authorship of 'St. Bettelin,' Mr. C. Kegan Paul affirms that when he was an undergraduate (in 1845) it was commonly ascribed to Froude (who wrote 'St. Neot,' that comes next in this series of 'Hermit Saints,' which was issued as one volume), and, further that, it was commonly asserted that, in consequence of the touch of scepticism in the concluding sentence—"And this is all that is known, and more than all—yet nothing to what the angels know—of the life of a servant of God," etc.—(Vol. III. p. 79). Newman had dubbed Froude "young Judas." Perhaps, however, the touch is rather humorous than sceptical; and Father Thurston, S.J., has pointed out that the gentle irony is instantly qualified; while, but for these words, the internal evidence is all in favour of Newman's authorship. Moreover, in a letter to the *Times* (27th December 1897), Mr. Edward Bellasis has asserted that a letter in Newman's handwriting exists (he did not say where) in which his authorship of the Life is admitted. It is conceivable indeed that Froude in a cynical moment may have inserted the words "and more than all" when correcting Newman's proofs for him. But this is a mere conjecture, only suggested as accounting for the Kegan Paul tradition, and in itself unlikely, since Newman would at any cost have withdrawn the whole issue had such a trick been played on him. And he may very well have written the whole sentence as it stands; for, as Father Thurston also

says, "the most devout must regard the story as mainly legendary."

Although Cardinal Newman's career is so familiar, it may be convenient, and it will make these brief notices more uniform, if a few dates and incidents, academical and other, are here set down.

Born in the City of London, 21st February 1801, the eldest son of Mr. John Newman, banker, John Henry Newman was educated at a private school at Ealing, and went into residence at Trinity College, Oxford, in June 1817. The year following he was elected a scholar of Trinity, and in 1819 he was entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn. He graduated (without honours) in 1820, and was elected a Fellow of Oriel in 1822. Two years later he was ordained as curate of St. Clement's, Oxford; and he became a tutor of Oriel in 1826, Vicar of St. Mary's, with Littlemore, 1828, and Select Preacher, 1830. In 1832 he went abroad, to Rome and Sicily, where he was seriously ill; and on his return to England, in 1833, he began, with others, the series of "Tracts for the Times," the last number of which (90) was issued in 1841. In 1843 he resigned the living of St. Mary's and resided at Littlemore, where he was received into the Roman Catholic Church, 9th October 1845. Proceeding to Rome, he became an Oratorian novice there, and was ordained priest in 1847. In 1848 he established the Oratory in England, first at Maryvale, Old Oscott, and finally at Edgbaston in 1851. In 1854 he was appointed Rector of the Catholic University of Dublin; but he returned to England in 1858, and established a boys' school in connection with the Oratory in 1859. In 1864 he published the "Apologia," and a Letter to the Duke of Norfolk in reply to Gladstone in 1875. In 1877 he was elected an honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Created a Cardinal by Pope Leo XIII., 12th May 1879, he died 11th August 1890.

OAKELEY

FREDERICK, Canon OAKELEY, author of the 'Life of St. Augustine of Canterbury' in this series, was born at Shrewsbury, 5th September 1802, the youngest child of Sir Charles Oakeley, Bart. His private tutor, Charles Sumner, was afterwards Bishop of Winchester. He matriculated from Christ Church in June 1820, and graduated B.A. (Second Class in *Lit. Hum.*), 1824. He obtained the Chancellor's Latin and English Prize Essays in 1825 and 1827, and the Ellerton Theological Prize in 1827. The same year he was elected Chaplain-Fellow of Balliol and tutor in 1830. He was Select Preacher in 1831, and Classical Examiner in 1836-7. In 1839 he became incumbent of Margaret Chapel, which stood on the site now occupied by All Saints, Margaret Street. Here he introduced Gregorian music, and many of the practices now known as ritualistic, into the Church of England; and among his prominent supporters were Mr. Beresford-Hope, Mr. Serjeant Bellasis, and Mr. Gladstone. In 1845, for claiming the right to "hold all Roman doctrine," he was proceeded against by the Bishop of London, his licence was withdrawn, and he was suspended in the Province of Canterbury. In September that year he joined Newman at Littlemore, and was received into the Roman Catholic Church, in Oxford, October 29. He was a student at St. Edmund's, Ware, 1846-48, and a priest at St. George's, Southwark, 1848-50; and Missionary Rector of St. John's, Islington, 1850-80, being also a Canon of Westminster from 1852. He was a frequent contributor to the *Month* and the *Dublin Review*, and among his publications are "Ceremonies of the Mass," 1855, and "Historical Notes on the Tractarian Movement," 1865. He died in 1880.

ORNSBY

Robert Ornsby, author of the 'Life of St. Richard, Bishop of Chichester' (a Life often attributed to Dalgairns, but known to be Ornsby's by his own statement of the fact to at least one person still living), was born in 1820, and was elected an exhibitioner of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1836. He graduated B.A. in 1840 (First Class in *Lit. Hum.*), and was elected a Fellow of Trinity in 1843. In 1845 he became curate of St. Peter-the-less, Chichester, but two years later (in May 1847) he was received into the Roman Catholic Church, and for a time assisted in the management of the *Tablet* newspaper in Dublin. He was selected by Newman to be Professor of Classical Literature in the Catholic University in Dublin in 1854, and this post he held until 1882, when he became a Fellow of the Royal University of Ireland, and Examiner in Greek, which office he held until his death, 21st April 1889. He was also for a short time Librarian at Arundel Castle. Among his publications were a "Life of St. Francis of Sales," 1856; an edition of the Greek Testament with notes, based on Cardinal Mai's edition of the Vatican MS., 1860; and "Memoirs of J. R. Hope Scott, Q.C.," in two volumes, 1884. Presumably, but for his marriage, he would have entered the priesthood, and perhaps also have joined a religious order. His wife was a sister of J. B. Dalgairns.

PATTISON

In his article on Mark Pattison, in the "Dictionary of National Biography," the late Mr. R. C. Christie says of him that in this series he wrote the Lives of Stephen Langton and St. Edmund, "neither of them of great merit,

but at least free from the trivialities and childish miracles which appear so frequently in the volumes." It is hardly possible that Mr. Christie, when he wrote this, can have read the 'Life of St. Edmund'; for it is notoriously full of miracles, and is, in fact, as Rev. E. A. Abbott witnesses, the standard authority for the occurrence of miracles in the Middle Ages. This Life was, however, probably the joint work of Pattison and Dalgairns; but the 'Life of St. Ninian,' of which Pattison was also the author, contains not only a record of miracles, but also some interesting remarks by the writer on the significance of their occurrence. Mark Pattison was born 10th October 1810, son of the Rev. Mark J. Pattison, for many years rector of Haukswell, Yorkshire. He was the eldest of twelve children; and the youngest of them also became distinguished under the name of "Sister Dora." Educated by his father, he graduated B.A. from Oriel College (Second Class in *Lit. Hum.*), in 1836. In 1838 he failed in three attempts to secure a fellowship (Oriel, University, and Balliol), but he was elected to one at Lincoln College in 1839. Ordained in 1841, and obtaining the Denyer Theological Prize in 1841 and 1842, he came more and more under the influence of Newman, for whom he had translated part of the "Catena Aurea." From 1844 until 1851 he was a contributor to the *Christian Remembrancer*; and about the year 1847 he confesses that he "might have dropped off to Rome in some moment of mental or physical depression, or under the pressure of some arguing convert." He "looked over the precipice and retreated," the turning point in his career being his appointment as Examiner in Greats in 1848. He was twice married, and his Oxford career is well told in the article by Mr. Christie above referred to. In 1861 he achieved his ambition in becoming Rector of Lincoln College. He died 30th July 1884.

WALKER

JOHN WALKER, author of the 'Life of St. German' in this series, was born in 1817, and matriculated from Brasenose College in 1837. He graduated B.A. (Second Class in *Lit. Hum.*) in 1841. At college he was known as "dismal Johnny." He was ordained and became curate of Benefield, Northamptonshire, but was received into the Roman Catholic Church in 1845. As a priest he was a Professor at St. Edmund's College, Ware, and later, Canon Penitentiary of Westminster. He died 26th September 1878. He is sometimes confused with his namesake, Canon John Walker, who was for many years pastor of the Roman Catholic Church at Scarborough. This latter, who was a contributor to the *Dublin Review*, and is several times mentioned in Ward's "Life of Cardinal Wiseman," was not one of the Oxford converts, but came of an old Catholic family in the North. Walker's 'Life of St. German' is, as compared with the other lives in this series, prolix and devoid of literary merit.

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